PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

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TO MY MUSLIM FRIENDS

In January, 1911 my first interest in Islam was born. We had recently come to India and were stationed in Lucknow. Shortly after our arrival the second large conference on Christian contacts with the Muslim world was held in that city. The first had been held in Cairo, Egypt, in 1906. Missionaries from far and wide assembled to discuss the problems that had challenged the Christian world since the days of Raymond Lull. It was at this conference that I made my first acquaintance with the problems and the outstanding workers and writers in this field of missionary endeavor. Leader among them, of course was Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer of Arabia and Egypt. Then there was Dr. Pennell of the North-west Frontier bordering on Afghanistan who had done so much with his medical work to help the Muslims of that area. One also remembers the impressive personalities of Bishop Lefroy, Dr. S. M. Wherry, Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht-Stanton, and the Rev. William Goldsack of East Bengal.

From contact with these veterans came a great desire and challenge to study Islam, to make friends with Muslims, and if possible to help them to a better understanding of the Christian faith. To this end I began the study of the Urdu language, and also read as extensively as possible books on Islam.

The Lucknow Christian College was a very good place to meet Muslims as there were many Muslim students in my classes, and the head of the department of Persian and Arabic, Professor Mirza Muhammad Hadi, soon became a close friend. All through our first term the study of Urdu and Islam proceeded, and when our first furlough came in 1918 plans had been completed to continue these studies in the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Conn., under

the direction of the great Islamics scholar, Dr. Duncan Black Macdonald. Study with Dr. Macdonald fired me with enthusiasm to get as close to the Muslim heart and way of life as possible, and I shall always be deeply grateful to him for the way he inspired me with a love for and an intimate understanding of Muslims—a love that one might hope would in due course bring some of them to a closer walk with God in Christ.

Through these succeeding thirty years and more, as a disciple of Dr. Macdonald, it has been my privilege to have contact with many Muslims, some of them outstanding personalities of the community in India and Pakistan. It has been a rich experience to have known the great Muslim poet and philosopher, Sir Muhammad Iqbal and the fervent nationalists Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and others with whom there was closer contact: Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, Sir Muhammad Yaqub, Dr. Ziya-ud-Din Ahmad and Chaudhari Khaliq-uz-Zaman.

These contacts have revealed an increasing friendliness toward, and an apparently enlarged understanding of the Christian faith. In fact, one has been made to feel that a new day of fellowship has dawned in regard to the relations between Christians and Muslims in India and Pakistan. In the days of the great Non-co-operation Movement in the 1920's and onward many Muslims joined the Congress Party. When Mahatma Gandhi was given jail sentences again and again for his Satyagraha and endured so much physical suffering for the cause of India's freedom, one Muslim friend told me how this all had helped him to understand the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross for the sins of the world, which had always been repugnant to him before!

On the other hand, there is still, of course, much prejudice among Muslims toward Christianity, but perhaps nothing has done more to remove this in recent years than the sad events following the partition of India, when Christians, Indian and non-Indian alike literally risked their own lives and came to the rescue of the suffering Muslims of Delhi in August and September, 1947. In spite of threats of the direst

consequences they went to the Muslim refugee camps day after day for weeks to give food and medical aid, thus revealing the true love of Jesus Christ and His followers for Muslims, as well as for others, a fact which they were not slow to appreciate, as later developments amply demonstrated.

The Muslims who have turned to Christ in India through the years have not been many in number, but some of the outstanding followers of Christ in India and Pakistan today, as in previous decades, have come from this community. These individuals through their experiences of suffering have learned much, and have added strength to the Christian Church. Men like the late Professor Sultan Muhammad Paul of Forman College, the Rev. Abdul Haqq, the Rev. Canon Barakat Ullah and Bishop John A. Subhan, (and one could name many others) by their writings and evangelistic messages have rendered a service for Christ and His Church that is second to none.

There is no doubt that the *sincere* Muslim inquirer who accepts Christ as his Master has a certain unique strength to contribute to the Christian community once he is fully integrated into it. This is as it should be, for the Church of Christ seeks to be a fellowship of *all* nations drawing strength from each. Muslims should know that the Church appreciates their zeal for the Faith, and their spiritual attainments so often quite marked, especially among those who have belonged to the great Sufi orders. Therefore we covet a closer fellowship with them, in the fold of the Church itself—as true and devoted followers of the Lord Jesus Christ (Yisu'al-Masih).

Muslims should know also that Christians have great admiration for the regular devotional practices to which so many of them adhere, for example, regularity in prayers, the reading of the Qur'an, and enthusiastic observance of religious festivals, all of which engender a deep sense of community solidarity. These factors make for strength, and if to these could be added the beauty, power and love of the Christian faith, this blending of the two strands of

spiritual life would add greatly to the spiritual strength of India and Pakistan and of the world.

Finally, Muslims should know—and many of them do know already—that the Christian Faith has something special to contribute which is of inestimable worth. It is character. Just recently I learned of a conversation that took place somewhere in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan, in which a missionary asked a Muslim friend why he sent his son to a certain Christian College. The reply was clear and straight-forward. "Tell me," he answered, "of any other college where my son can get as good character training as he receives there and I shall not hesitate to send him." Yes, Christians do try to specialize in the production of a certain fundamental type of character. It is the type founded on the teaching, example, spirit and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ. These are some of the personal experiences and conclusions of forty years in India that I am happy to share with Muslim friends wherever they may be.

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MUSLIM WOMEN IN RURAL NORTHERN INDIA

In rural evangelistic work with Muslim women of northern India, it has often been found advisable to get initial access to the women through the men folk. It has sometimes been found helpful when the village mullah or maulvi was approached. This is especially true when the village is strongly Muslim. In addition to the fact that this implies recognition of his place and authority in the community life, it is also far better than having him arrive in the midst of one's message, as it is very certain that the presence of the evangelist will be known to him very soon after arrival. If, as is very probable, he arrives in a spirit of suspicion and opposition it produces consternation among the women. On the other hand, when approached on arrival with the respect due to his position as a religious teacher, and with a gift of literature, that he may know the content of one's message, a friendly spirit is usually created and a willingness that the women should have an opportunity to hear. There is a Hindustani proverb that reads *Ji kaho ji kahlao,* meaning "Respect begets respect," which proves true the world over.

An illustration of the above is found in the case of a maulvi in a certain district, also a trained teacher, and one of the few men who seem to have a real gift for teaching primary children. He was very friendly when approached, inviting the evangelist to his own home, reading with great interest literature given and saw nothing amiss in sharing what he found with friends in the mosque.

Another method found helpful is to make a contact upon arrival in a new village with the head official, and after some conversation ask for an opportunity to meet and talk with the women of his household. This is usually found to be agreeable and by the time one is seated the women of the neighborhood, and of course the children, have arrived and the way is opened for work in other homes of the village. In addition to the practical advantage of these ways of beginning work, there is a satisfaction in feeling that it is

all open and above board when the approval of the men has been gained. A happy contact with the home of a village leader brought an invitation to show slides of the life of Christ in the home to which the women of the community were invited. An interesting sequel to this was that this husband and father asked if he might represent the non-Christians of the district at a farewell party being given before the missionary went on furlough and made a very much appreciated speech on the appreciation of the non-Christians of the work being done in their villages. At another such affair, at his own expense, he had an original poem printed, which was distributed to the people gathered in the church for a farewell service.

Some Missions have worked on the principle of having two of their missionaries work together, but the experience of the writer has been that there is a great advantage in having one foreigner and an Indian. A young missionary learns much of value from her Indian co-worker and the Indian gains from other advantages the missionary may have had in preparation for service. Only with years of experience does the missionary learn what the Indian knows intuitively. Then, too, since the avowed purpose of Missions is to prepare the nationals to carry on the work it would seem necessary to work together. For many reasons it is inadvisable for the missionary to work alone. One of the great joys in the work is the association with nationals in the service of Christ.

Singing is of immense value in work among women and children and there should be a song for each message to be sure that it has really reached the mind and heart. The song will be remembered much longer than anything else, and so memory work of any kind, such as the commandments, selected verses, etc., should be set to music. Since, for rural work, the use of native music is very desirable, most of the songs now being used have been written by Indians. Many Indian pastors and teachers have written excellent songs. There is ability along this line found among the village people that should be utilized. An Indian friend of the writer,

once a co-worker, only needed the suggestion of the need of a song on a certain topic to produce one. The singing in village services is something long remembered.

A message, brief and concise, should be given, followed by questions on the incident related, and then by a re-telling of it by a woman or child, or by several. This, with a song that will perhaps be the same incident set to music or on the same thought, will perhaps be enough for one group. It is hardly necessary to add that in work among illiterates, as most of the work in the villages is, so far as work among women is concerned, some form of visual material should be used. Where, as is now rarely the case, pictures or figures with the flannel board cannot be used (among very orthodox Muslims this needs thought) simple charts, very often home-made, can be used to explain the Word.

It is very gratifying to see the number of new literates in the villages, especially among children, for the new government is doing excellent work in attacking the problems of illiteracy, two thousand new village schools being opened each year in the United Provinces, now "Uttar Pardesh." This means, frequently, one literate person at least in a home so literature can be used effectively and is eagerly taken.

In this connection acknowledgement is made with deep gratitude of the splendid contribution being made to the work of all Missions of India by the Scripture Gift Mission, which is supplying, practically free, very attractive booklets in the language of the Scriptures, and these are being richly used of God. The titles are quickly memorized and one after another comes asking for "The Way of Salvation," "Four Things that God Wants You To Know," "The New Life and the Old Life," etc. The use of such literature in the villages is of inestimable value, for new literates and children delight in reading aloud and so many are helped who are unable to read.

Hymn books, containing about twenty-five hymns that are being used in the work and that can be sold for a small

sum, are eagerly taken and it is difficult to keep enough on hand to meet the demand for them.

Itineration during the winter months, the camp remaining at least a week in each center, affords a good opportunity for contacts. In many parts of North India large groups of non-Christian women visit the camp and invitations come to visit homes of those who are not free to do so. It is very desirable that there should be at least four women for the work, so that one party may remain at the camp while the other visits other villages in the area, for it is a bit strenuous to come back after a day's work to find opportunities that cannot be neglected. Night meetings often draw many women, both Christian and non-Christian, and slides or movies are always greatly appreciated.

In a country where, especially in rural areas, the education of girls has been so neglected, one can be thankful that there has been religious teaching. While at times the teaching of the Qur'an may seem to produce a mind closed to the Gospel, yet, it often appears to have kept them from mental stagnation and kept before them the concepts of God, prayer, the hereafter, etc. Had the Qur'an been taught in the vernacular it might have been still more helpful in the way of preparation for the Bible truth. With sympathy and a little imagination there should be neither surprise nor dismay at some of the objections of the intelligent and orthodox Muslim woman. One should be rather surprised were there no objections, for it would mean there was ignorance or else little or no religious zeal in the heart. Anyone planning to work among Muslims will have some knowledge of Islam and will be somewhat prepared to answer with tact and sympathy the objections presented. The guidance of the Holy Spirit is greatly needed for this. The Christian worker will rejoice in the many fine points of contact with Islam; that the name of God is known and reverenced and that so much is known about Christ that can be used in presenting the truth. Many feel that the greatest hindrance to the acceptance of Christ in non-Christian lands is now not so much religious objections as the pagan influences

that are emanating from the West, and so, discrediting the message of the missionary. The evangelist approaches Muslims, too, with humility, remembering that had the Christian Church in the time of Muhammad been a Spirit-empowered church, full of evangelistic zeal, the uplifted Christ would have undoubtedly drawn Muhammad and his people to Himself. The fact that they too are the children of Abraham and so in a special way near to us, as followers of the Nazarene, stirs the heart.

One great need that is being more adequately met now than formerly is the provision through Seminaries and the Henry Martyn School of Islamics for preparing workers on the field for work among Muslims. The women evangelists and wives of pastors and teachers have been greatly inspired by these courses and have entered into the work with new interest and courage.

One working among women and children in the villages should always be able to help with simple medicines and if the American or Indian has had any special training it is very helpful. Ministering in this way is beneficial both to the one ministering and to those ministered to, for it would be easy to become callous to the suffering one constantly sees were there no effort to alleviate it. A bond of sympathy is created also through this contact with people. There is a special blessing too on such means, as many can testify, that is out of all proportion to what one might naturally expect. Prayer for the sick, too, is greatly appreciated. Even a religious teacher has been known to ask for the prayers of the Christian worker for a member of his family.

Since the work among children always affects the home, one might mention the opportunity for giving a message in the village schools. The teachers are usually friendly and glad to give time for a brief message. Here, in the opinion of the writer, the message should be one that is acceptable to people of all religions—for instance the Ten Commandments, the parable of the Good Samaritan, etc. Later, out of school, there will be an opportunity to sell Gospels or give literature. A song is always appreciated too by both

teacher and pupils and there are many that are suitable for such occasions. The teacher is always glad to accept literature and some very fine contacts can be made in this way.

The great decrease in the number of women for evangelistic work in some Missions is a great loss, for only women can do very effective work among women and children. The decrease in foreign personnel usually means a corresponding decrease in Indian personnel, for as yet Indian women do not wish to go into village work alone. Then, too, unless there is a foreign worker there is seldom a budget or a conveyance for the work. Prayer is needed that this great need be met and that many with a burden for the work among Muslim women be raised up to go forth to the many who are needing the message of life. There is nothing that can bring more joy than recalling the names and faces of some who, as the result of missionary work among Muslims, are now carrying on in the name of Christ and of the many from other groups who have been given the vision of the need and responded to the call of the Master to work among Muslim women.

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RECENT LITERATURE DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN

The history of Christian Literature in Iran is almost co-terminous with that of the Mission itself. When the American Board missionaries founded the so-called Mission to the Nestorians in 1834, they discovered they were working with a practically illiterate nation. There was just one literate Assyrian woman, the sister of the Nestorian patriarch, and a few score of literate men. And all of these knew only the ancient Syriac. The modern Syriac tongue had not, till then, been reduced to writing. So one of the earliest moves of these pioneers was to import classical Syriac type from England, prepare books in the spoken language, and establish a press for their printing and circulation. In time many millions of pages were printed, books, tracts, textbooks and magazines for the upbuilding of an Evangelical Church in Iran, all in the Syriac tongue.

With the gradual shifting of emphasis in the work from the Assyrians and Armenians to the Persian-speaking Iranians, there came a shift in literature needs with the result that in recent years the production of literature in Persian has held the center of the stage. The Church Missionary Society in southern Iran produced a galaxy of literary stars, including such men as St. Clair Tisdall, W. A. Rice and others. They sent their productions to India where they were lithographed and distributed both there and in Iran. In the north also increasing interest was being displayed in Persian literature, but it took the visit of Dr. S. M. Zwemer to Iran in 1926 and the subsequent formation of the Interchurch Literature Committee under Dr. W. N. Wysham's vigorous leadership to launch a planned and expanding program of literature in that language. It is the purpose of this article, however, not to write the full and fascinating story of this development but simply to survey the trends and developments of the past ten years. During this time the Committee has become the Interchurch Literature Committee, and unprecedented support from abroad, particularly during the post-war years, has

made possible a most welcome acceleration in our literature program.

During the earliest years, before the existence of a group of converts, it was inevitable that the dominating interest in the literature program should be in explaining and defending the Christian Faith, and a presentation of its merits as compared with the religion of Islam. Practically everything printed was evangelistic or apologetic in nature. With the emergence of an infant church, books such as *Pilgrim's Progress* and McConkey's *Prayer* were translated in order to nourish the spiritual lives of the believers, and the first attempts at a hymnal were made.

During the last ten years, however, as the Church has grown and a real Protestant community has developed, it has been recognized that the demand is for nothing less than a completely rounded program of Christian Literature that will meet the needs of all ages and types of Christians, with special emphasis on books suited to the young. So there has come a steadily widening variety in the productions of the Literature Committee.

Publications during the past ten years may be divided into fifteen different categories, of which the name and number of new publications in each, follow: Evangelistic, 19; Bible Commentaries and Exegesis, 7; Stories for Youth, 7; Christmas Cards, 7; Biographies, 5; Children's Books, 5; the Christian Life, 4; Poetry, 4; Diseases and Health, 4; Ethics textbooks for children, 3; Devotional, 3; Religious Novels, 2; Catalogues, 2; Church History, 1; Catechumen Instruction, 1. While exact classification is impossible, as some books might be placed in one of several categories, nevertheless the above break-down is significant.

It is evident that the evangelistic emphasis is still strong. However, it is not so strong as the above figures might indicate. For, whereas forty of the seventy-four publications listed above are books, and thirty-four are tracts, of the nineteen evangelistic publications all but three are tracts. If we should roughly estimate eight tracts to equal one smallish

book, the evangelistic publications would equal in all about five books.

A comparatively new element in our literature is the growing selection of books for children and for young people. Islam provides practically no wholesome literature for children outside of school textbooks, and portions of these dealing with their religious laws of purification would not be considered printable in America. There is nothing remotely resembling the abundance of attractive colored books for children of various ages such as we have in Christian lands. Hence the translation and preparation of such books in Persian has been considered one of the most urgent items on our program in recent years. It has also been one of the most enjoyable. Most of our stories for very young people have been animal stories, the Evers series including *Copykitten, Fussbunny, Chatterduck* and *Monkeyface* being supreme for the purpose. The latest addition is in the form of translations of five numbers of the series, Bible Books for Small People, put out by the S.P.C.K. These are beautifully illustrated by the Near East artist, Elsie Anna Wood, with choice renditions of various Bible stories by writers who know how to write for children.

For more mature young people, such old favorites as *Tom Sawyer, The Prince and the Pauper,* and *Little Women* have been translated as well as less famous but almost equally interesting works. Especially valuable have been several of the series of Biographies of Great Americans which the Bobbs Merrill Company have been publishing. These are devoted to the childhood and youth of these famous people, with a final chapter summarizing their later achievements. The stories of the youth of Abraham Lincoln and George Carver have been published, with Thomas Edison, Clara Barton and Jane Addams in preparation. Two of Miss Lille's imaginative stories for boys in the time of Christ, *Stephen, Boy of the Mountains* and *Nathan, Boy of Capernaum* have found a warm welcome in Iran, as have the adventure story, *Call It Courage,* and an appealing dog story, *Vicki the Guide Dog.*

The Iranian love for poetry is too well known to require comment, so the poetry section is of particular interest. It includes original Christian poetry, a selection of references from the great Persian poets to the character and life of our Lord, and the Persian and Armenian hymnals. A work in preparation which promises to be of great value is a poetical rendition of the entire Gospel of John, verse by verse, by a convert from Islam. With attractive colored illustrations, we expect this to carry the Christian message with unique effectiveness.

The devotional section is comparatively weak, so the program for the immediate future contemplates translations of *The Meaning of Prayer, The Manhood of the Master,* and Dr. Laubach's *Prayer, The Mightiest Force.*

A study of the authorship of the various publications reveals that far too small a portion has been produced by the Iranians themselves, there being only eight of the seventy-four with Iranian authorship. However, a total of twenty-five were produced in Iran, various missionaries writing books and pamphlets in English which were turned into good Persian by competent translators. These contributions by missionaries include Bible Commentaries, Health Books, Tracts, Evangelistic Appeals, Facets of the Christian Life, Ethics, and Church History. Just half of the productions by nationals are in the form of poetry.

One of the most important developments of recent years is the inauguration of a church monthly magazine. Starting as a four-page news sheet, it has grown steadily until now it is a thirty-two page magazine with a four-page news supplement for church members, and in appearance and format, ranks with the best of such publications in Iran. In the preparation of this magazine, the national contribution is much greater than that of missionaries and it is becoming increasingly their channel for self-expression. While much of the material, indeed most of it, is translated from English, still the choice of material to be translated is largely theirs, and original stories, poems and articles are frequent. While it is still feeling its way, few religious magazines anywhere con-

tain so much solid and inspirational material as this magazine, *Nur-i Jehan,* or "Light of the World."

To what extent our publications are being read is, doubtless, impossible to say. Probably many a book or pamphlet is bought, tossed into a corner and forgotten, and many of the smaller tracts are torn up and thrown away. On the other hand, we hear of cases where books kept for lending have gone out to a dozen homes, often being read by several individuals in each. The best gauge of the circulation is the number of pages sold, though this too is very elastic. For there are small pocket-size pamphlets in which the Sermon on the Mount occupies fifteen pages, and there are the pages of the *Nur-i Jehan* so large that the same sermon would occupy only two. And there are children's picture story books which may have only one sentence to a page. Nevertheless, the number of pages sold seems the best available criterion of the Committee's effective circulation. During the past ten years, this has varied from a low yearly total of 383,000 pages to this year's high of 1,190,000 pages. There seem to be two main factors which influence this variation: the first being the missionary personnel engaged in evangelistic effort, and the second being available funds. The high points in circulation have come when the evangelistic staff on the field was at its highest, or when generous appropriations have made possible a large production of new titles, and especially when these two factors have coincided. The low points have come when a small and over-burdened staff, insufficiently supplied with funds, have found literature distribution largely crowded out or impossible. Evangelistic tours by missionaries and nationals have always been fruitful in the field of literature distribution, and obviously such tours vary directly with the field force and funds. On such tours, most of the large productions are sold, though sometimes at a reduced price, while the smaller tracts are sold at a nominal fee or given away.

Distribution in the permanent centers is through book stores or reading-rooms or both, and most of the hospitals are good purchasers of literature and make more or less con-

sistent efforts to bring it to the attention of patients. Recently the S.P.C.K. has opened a book store in Isfahan which handles our literature along with a good stock of English books and is now the largest distribution center in the South. Perhaps most effective of all is the limited number of inspired individuals who use every contact in making and receiving calls to introduce our literature to friends, securing subscriptions to the church magazine and taking orders for or lending our books. May their shadows never grow less!

In various cities and at different times, commercial book shops have been willing to handle the more secular and generally appealing books at the usual trade discount. This usually seems to work well for a time, but unhappily our almost invariable experience has been that the experiment has terminated with a large unpaid balance and numerous books unaccounted for. So the problems of distribution are always with us and are most urgent.

The results of our literature distribution will only be known in the world to come. But we are continually encouraged by reports from all over the field. First of all are the results shown in the interest of new inquirers. A complete stranger turns up in Tehran from a village two hundred miles away. He has read a Christian tract on *The Meaning of Love,* and would like to prepare himself for baptism. A European-trained doctor drops in who has been handed a tract by a colporteur on the street. He has long been attracted to Christianity, and this tract has acted as a catalytic to precipitate his interest. A letter comes in from a distant village asking questions that have been aroused by a reading of a tract. A borrowed book is returned with the request for another and another, till in time the reader becomes a regular attendant at the services. As a rule, evangelists on tour spend their mornings in distributing literature and their afternoons in receiving callers whose interest has been thus awakened. A well-known writer appears at a Sunday service to tell of how he and a group of his friends have been impressed by articles in the *Nur-i Jehan* so that they wish to learn more of the Christian way. Ceaselessly the work goes

on. Christian literature is constantly arousing interest and bringing new inquirers to our churches.

We have reason to believe also that Christian literature is playing an important part in slowly changing the moral climate of Iran. A mullah about to take a second wife is handed a Christian pamphlet dealing with polygamy. Later he returns it with thanks, saying that he now realizes that polygamy is wrong and so he has decided to content himself with his present wife. A fierce and quarrelsome woman reads a pamphlet on Christian love with a resultant change in her attitude that amazes her friends. A communist returns a tract discussing the place of religion in society, admitting that it has upset his previous ideas and convinced him that somewhere he has been misled. Many others who once denounced and opposed Christian teaching as entirely false, will now admit that it is all right but really just the same as Islam. Many others will confess in private that Christianity is right and true but will maintain that their position makes it impossible for them to be known as Christians.

And, finally, Christian literature is constantly winning out-and-out adherents to the Christian faith. From city and village, story after story reaches us of new believers won by the perusal of some book or tract. One of our new evangelists, still comparatively young, who for some eighteen years maintained a lonely and unflinching witness in an entirely Muslim community, was asked to relate the story of his conversion. He had been interested for some time, he said, but the turning point came when he read a tract, *The Perfect Law*. In a provincial town, an encouraging interest developed in our faith as a result of repeated visits by evangelists, but there was also violent opposition led by a strong and able member of the communist party. He was persuaded to read a book entitled, *Faith in God in the xxth Century*. As a result this same boy became the leading spirit among the Christian young men, an enthusiastic and dynamic believer. A wealthy land-owner was given a Bible to read the day before he was to be dismissed from the Christian Hospital. Fascinated by it, he asked the doctor's permission to remain in the hospital,

paying full fees, that he might be able to finish this compelling book without interruption. Naturally, the doctor was glad to cooperate, and in two weeks he had read the book from cover to cover. He followed this up by reading, *Sweet First Fruits,* a vivid story of the conversion of a Muslim mullah to Christ. Since then, he has considered himself a Christian. He has never been baptized, but as a father, has influenced his children; as a member of Parliament, has worked for sound social progress; as a land-owner, has preached and practiced Christian principles towards his tenants; and as an editor, has used his paper to proclaim the principles of The Sermon on the Mount. He gives generously to the church and attends occasionally, but feels that he can serve best as an unknown disciple.

Over eight million pages of Christian literature circulated in the past ten years! How one wishes it were possible to follow up these tens of thousands of books and tracts in a thousand homes, from hut to palace, and to watch them at work in all parts of Iran. It is, of course, impossible. But enough of their effects appears so that one is assured they are playing a vital part in the quiet leavening that is going on throughout the land, enough to assure one that few methods can equal the distribution of Christian literature for the spreading of our message in a hostile country. Silently, persistently, effectively, from moment to moment, Christ is calling men and women to his allegiance through the message of the printed page.

JOHN ELDER

Tehran, Iran

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THE PARACLETE, ALMUNHAMANNA AND AḤMAD

In an exhaustive article in The Moslem World more than thirty years ago Mr. Bevan Jones, later Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, called attention to the passage in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām, where the Arab historian alludes to the claim put forward by Muslims that the Johannine references to the "Comforter" on the lips of Jesus mean "Muḥammad."[1] Ibn Hishām would seem to have been drawing ultimately on some Syriac Gospel source, for this alone would account for the Syriac appellation of *Almunhamanna.* There was some correspondence over the matter between Mr. Bevan Jones and Professor F. C. Burkitt, who not only mentioned the Palestinian Syriac version as being the only Syriac Ms. where the word occurs, but suggested that Ibn Hishām might have been in touch with one of the monks of St. Catharine's monastery on Mount Sinai. The *Ḥadīth* in question, however, goes beyond Ibn Hishām, who died A.D. 834, to his predecessor Ibn Isḥāq, who had already stated that the "description of Muḥammad" as foretold by Jesus, Son of Mary, occurred in that which "came to him from Allah in the *Injīl* for the people of the *Injīl.*" It was one of the things which "Yuhannis," the original disciple, confirmed to them, when he transmitted the *Injīl* to them from the time of Jesus, Son of Mary. The passage in the *Sīra* runs as follows:[2]

> "He who hates me hates the Lord *(Arrabb):* and if I had not done *in their presence* works none before me did, they would not have had sin. But from now they became ungodly, and supposed that they were getting the better of me and of the Lord. But the word which is written in the Law *(Annāmūs)* must be fulfilled: "They hated me gratuitously." So if *Almunhamanna* had come, him whom *Allah* will send unto you from the Lord (and) the Spirit of Justice (truth) *(qisṭ)* or Holiness *(quds):* he is that which comes forth from the Lord,—he would be a witness to me; and you too because of old you were with me. I have told you about this that you might not be made to stumble."[3]

Ibn Hishām then makes the comment that in Syriac *Almunhamanna* means "Muḥammad" and that in Greek it is *Albaraqlitis.* It is worth noting that in each case he arabizes the foreign name by honoring it with the definite article. Though the first statement would seem philologically incorrect, the second as a transliteration of ὁ παράκλητος is true. It is the word used in other Syriac versions than

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[1] April 1920: "Paraclete or Muhammad." This article should be read in conjunction with the present one. Mr. Bevan Jones's book on *Christianity Explained to Muslims* also treats this matter.

[2] Wüstenfeld's Edition, 150.

[3] cf. Mark 14:27, where the Arabic word used in modern versions is the same as in Ibn Hishām; John 16:1 has a different Arabic word, but the Greek is identical in both cases.

the Palestinian.[4] The Persian is the same with a *"fa"* substituted for a *"ba."*[5] Generally the word appears without the Greek termination, but Ibn Hishām's reproduction includes it. Once more he does not have the *ordinary Muslim* word for "John" nor the *ordinary Christian* word, preferring a transliteration of Ἰωάννης with *Yuhannis.* There is surely another Graecism in the word for Law, given as *nāmūs,*[6] so that there are three important words in this quotation which betray a Greek origin, though probably a Syriac medium. The substitution of *Lord* for *Father* in the four occurrences[7] can presumably be explained by a natural islamization of the passages from the Fourth Gospel. The one occurrence of *Allah* takes the place of the first person singular on the lips of Jesus in John 15:26. Perhaps this again had to be, for Ibn Hishām was a Muslim historian.

There are two further textual points, where the *Sīra* according to Wüstenfeld reads as in the translation given above with "and" inserted between "the Lord" and "the Spirit of Justice." The Arabic here is *qisṭ,* while the "and" would seem redundant with the repetition of much the same phrase in the following sentence. "The Spirit of Justice" can hardly be other than another title for *Almunhamanna,* corresponding to the "Spirit of Truth" in the Johannine original. The question is whether *qisṭ* might represent ἀληθείας equally with *ḥaqq,* while the sister word in Hebrew (for the Arabic is a loan word) is *qusht* and must bear a close relationship.[8] Otherwise the implication would be that *Almunhamanna* came forth from the Spirit as well as from the Lord, which would scarcely be in agreement with the Muslim doctrine of God. There is another reading, however, in the Edition of Ibn Hishām by Muḥammad Muḥyiddīn 'Abdul Ḥamīd of the Azhar, who omits the "and," while instead of *qisṭ* he reads *quds.*[9] "The Spirit of Holiness" is as naturally Christian as it could be Muslim. Wüstenfeld records this *altera lectio* in his notes.[10] The Azharite Professor does not allude to *qisṭ.* Perhaps we must leave the matter in suspense, while noting both phrases as Johannine.

A more noteworthy feature of Ibn Hishām's discussion is the omission of any suggestion whatever that this "prophecy" by Jesus of the mission of Muḥammad is mentioned in the Qur'ān. Why was it that neither he nor Ibn Isḥāq, to whom he owed so much, makes any reference to Sūrah 61 with its mention of *Aḥmad*? Both scholars of course

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[4] i.e., the Peshitto; also some early Arabic versions.
[5] Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam,* ad loc.
[6] i.e., n o m o s: The other Arabic word being *Sharī'at.*
[7] John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7.
[8] Brown, Driver and Briggs, ad loc.
[9] Vol. i, 251.
[10] Vol. iii, 48.

knew the Qur'ān, which is freely quoted in appropriate contexts throughout the *Sīra*. The implication is that neither Ibn Hishām nor his predecessor knew anything about the surmised reading of περικλυτός for παράκλητος, and its possible rendering as *Aḥmad*. Their concern was not for any similarity in name as proof of the mission foretold by Jesus. There is merely the bare statement that *Almunhamanna* means "Muḥammad," which is philologically out of the question. They can hardly have known anything of the pre-Christian use of "Paraclete" in Hebrew and Aramaic through the Talmud and the Midrash—still less the whole history behind the Johannine conception.[11]

In recent correspondence Dr. Matthew Black of the University of Leeds, confirming the fact that "the only Syriac version which renders the Johannine *Parakletos* by *m°nahman(a)* is the Palestinian," which has it in the four contexts, adds that "the same word in classical Syriac has quite a different meaning." *Nuhama* is the regular word for Resurrection (according to Payne Smith) and is not found in classical Syriac with the sense of "to comfort." Consequently the Palestinian Syriac has followed the tradition that *Parakletos* means "Comforter." Dr. Black makes two further comments: first, that there is no point of contact (except *Almunhamanna)* with the Palestinian Syriac in the verses as quoted in Ibn Hishām, which follows the *Textus Receptus* closely. "There is, however, one Syriac rendering of ἐν αὐτοῖς,[12] which agrees with Ibn Hishām. It is unlikely that this is coincidence, and it is clear that Ibn Hishām is following, if somewhat freely, a text or version of the passage." Secondly, writes Dr. Black, "For the meaning of *Periklutos* I do not think there is any trace in pre-Islamic Syriac or Greek sources." This bears out from another angle the verdict of Dr. Bell "that the confusion originated with Muḥammad himself" is "unlikely."[13]

Does it not also put the "confusion" later than Ibn Isḥāq, if not Ibn Hishām? The question of the misreading of *Periklutos* for *Parakletos* according to the Islamic argument does not arise. The words of Professor Sweetman are enough, "that the Muslim interpretation is quite impossible hardly needs repetition."[14]

In the four allusions in the Last Discourse three times the Paraclete is called the "Spirit of Truth" and once (14:26) "the Holy Spirit." It is easy to recognize how differences in reading might have

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[11] See article in the *Journal of Theological Studies,* April 1950, by C. K. Barrett.

[12] John 15:24. Ibn Hishām *bi ḥaḍratihim:* Arabic versions in the Johannine context *bainahum.*

[13] *The Qur'ān Translated,* 577, note 2.

[14] *Islam and Christian Theology,* vol. i:33.

arisen in the text of Ibn Hishām. Apart from *qisṭ* and *ḥaqq* being quite possible variations of *ἀληθεία*, *qisṭ* is sufficiently like *quds* to warrant changes in the text. Some Christians who islamized would be familiar with the phrase "Spirit of Truth," others would know "Spirit of Holiness" better. The main issue is not affected. *Periklutos* does not come into the picture so far as Ibn Isḥāq and Ibn Hishām are concerned. The deception is not theirs. The opportunity to introduce *Aḥmad* was not accepted—though it is highly improbable that they were aware of it being a possible rendering of *Periklutos*. It would have clinched the argument to have followed the Johannine references with a Quranic quotation.

These verses from Sūrah 61 are translated by Dr. Bell as follows:—

> "And when Jesus son of Mary, said: 'O Children of Israel I am Allah's messenger to you, confirming the Torah which was before me, and announcing the good tidings of a messenger who will come after me, bearing the name Aḥmad.' Then, when he came to them with evidences, they said, 'This is magic manifest.' "[15]

The similarity between the verses from the Qur'ān and the passage in Ibn Hishām is somewhat superficial. There is the usual designation of Jesus as Son of Mary; the reference to the Torah (in Ibn Hishām *nāmūs),* and perhaps the idea of "confirming" in the Introduction. In the Qur'ān the words are addressed to the "children of Israel": in the work of Ibn Hishām they are for the "people of the Injīl." In the Qur'ān they are prefaced by Moses' remonstrance with his people that he was "Allah's messenger," a claim that Jesus reiterates in the following verse: but whereas Muḥammad says that Jesus only mentioned the Torah as confirming it, the allusion in Ibn Hishām to the *nāmūs* is in respect of Jesus Himself, as finding fulfilment through His rejection of the twice occurring quotation from the Psalms.[16] Incidentally Ibn Hishām is here quoting Johannine usage correctly in using *nāmūs* like Torah to mean the whole of Scripture.[17] This is Christian custom rather than Muslim.

There are two further matters in the Quranic material. It is not clear to whom the pronoun "he" refers in the concluding sentence. Bell says "probably Jesus," but "sometimes taken to refer to the promised messenger who is identified with Muhammad."[18] Secondly, and in consequence the intervening words, "bearing the name Aḥmad," are grammatically superfluous. They do not help to make the pronominal reference any clearer as to who it was whose Evidences were greeted as magic. Without the clause about Aḥmad the context

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[15] Bell, op. cit., 577.
[16] Ps. 35:19; 69:5.
[17] John 15:25.
[18] Bell, op. cit., 577, note 3.

would appear to demand that it was Jesus rather than the next "messenger" who was intended. Whether we maintain the usual reading or adopt that of "magician" (as read by Ibn Mas'ūd and others),[19] the charge of sorcery generally would seem as true to the Jewish calumnies in the Fourth Gospel as to the somewhat similar charges brought against Muḥammad.[20] In any case it was the *Banu Isrā'īl* to whom both Jesus and the "messenger" came, and who regarded the mission as "sorcery." Once more, if we omit the phrase, "bearing the name Aḥmad," and regard Muḥammad as still drawing lessons from previous history, the dubious passage might refer to what happened at Pentecost and other incidents recorded in the earlier chapters of the Acts. With the absence of any claim on this passage either by Ibn Isḥāq or Ibn Hishām, may we go further and suggest that the two Arabic words rendered by Dr. Bell, "bearing the name Aḥmad," are an interpolation to be *dated after the death of Muḥammad.*

There is no question, however, that the two authors of the *Sīra* found this Johannine quotation very useful to their purpose, even quoting in all good faith, but unaware of the original fulfilment of the words of Jesus in the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit. This is hardly to be wondered at, when the Islamic doctrine of the Spirit is taken into account—the word sometimes being used in the Qur'ān of Jesus and sometimes of Gabriel. It might have complicated the question still further, had the two scholars known that the first Epistle of John uses *Parakletos* of Jesus,[21] while He uses it in the Gospel of the Spirit.

It would appear likely therefore that it was because of this contention by the authors of the *Sīra* that Jesus mentioned a "messenger" who should come after Him coupled with their failure to recognize or understand that the Christian Church had identified the "messenger" (or the Paraclete) all down its history with the Spirit, that *after their time* the Quranic context was considered bound to fit their interpretation. From the Islamic point of view the paranomasia of *"Periklutos"* and *"Parakletos"* was discovered, and so the interpolation of the Prophet's name came about.

But was it the Prophet's name? It is surely most unlikely that in referring to himself in the Qur'ān he would have done so by a name that does not seem to have been known to or conferred on him by his contemporaries. Had this been a conscious reference on his part to himself, he would have used the form of the name by which the Arabs knew him, and which occurs in a rather similar context in Sūrah 47.[22]

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[19] Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān,* 101,327.

[20] John 8:48; cf. Mark 3:22 and par. Also Muir's *Mohammad,* 48.

[21] I John 2:1. The word in Arabic is different but the Peshitto has the Syriac form of Paraclete.

[22] "Muhammad"—hence the name of the Sūrah: and surely more likely in view of the Credal formula.

There remains the unsolved question of the actual source of the passage in Ibn Hishām. Professor Burkitt suggested that it was oral. Certain words have a Greek ring though their path to Arabic may well have been Syriac. Dr. Black thinks that Ibn Hishām was following a text or version of the Syriac in this passage. There are single features in common with the Peshitto, the Palestinian Syriac and with the Arabic of Tatian.[23] But Tatian was first in Syriac. This would all favor an oral channel for our Muslim authors. We should surely not bring against them any deliberate intention of misinterpretation,—an acquittal which it is very difficult to grant to the more subtle attempt to falsify the interpretation through the quite unwarrantable suggestion that *Periklutos* should be substituted for *Parakletos*.

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[23] Tatian (Arabic) has the same word for "gratuitously" as Ibn Hishām. The ordinary versions have a different phrase in the Gospel.

THE MATERIAL OF TRADITION II

Tradition shows quite a considerable interest in Jesus, and therefore something should be said on this subject. In dealing with Muḥammad only the material provided by al-Bukhārī was mentioned, as he is generally considered the highest authority; but in dealing with Jesus quotations will be made from all the recognized six books.[1]

Jesus and Mary are said to have been the only children who have not been touched (or pricked) by the devil when they were born.[2] This suggests some influence of the Christian doctrine of original sin from which not only Jesus, but also Mary, is here said to have been preserved free. Modern Muslim apologists are inclined to insist that Islām does not teach original sin, but here, in the traditions of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, we find something which looks very much like it.[3] In keeping with what is said in the Qur'ān (iii,41; v,109; xix,30-34), al-Bukhārī mentions that Jesus spoke in the cradle.[4]

A number of traditions refer to the personal appearance of Jesus. This description is sometimes given in traditions of a vision of Jesus at the Ka'ba which Muḥammad had, sometimes in traditions which tell of Muḥammad meeting Jesus on the night of the Mi'rāj, and sometimes in traditions which tell of the second coming of Jesus. He is commonly said to be of middle-stature and of reddish, or reddish white complexion. One version says he looked like one who had just come out of a bath, and adds the statement that Muḥammad is the descendant of Abraham who resembles him most closely. He is said variously to have had curly hair and to have had long hair reaching to his shoulders. A curious feature is that it is said that his head was dripping. One version, dealing with his second coming, says that when he lowers his head it will drip and that when he raises it something like pearls will come down from it. Another detail is that he is broad-chested.[5] Where all these details came from it is difficult to say, for the Gospels do not give us any information on this subject, unless the phrase "because he was little of stature" in Luke xix, 3 refers to Jesus and not to Zacchaeus. But even if this is so, it disagrees with what the Muslim traditions say.

It is surprising to find that the books recognized as authoritative

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[1] In citing traditions the following contractions will be used: al-Bukhārī, B; Muslim, M; Abū Dāwūd, A.D.; al-Tirmidhī, T; al-Nasā'ī, N; Ibn Māja, I.M.

[2] B., *Anbiyā'*, 44; *Tafsīr*, sūra 3, *bāb* 2; M., *Faḍā'il*, 146, 147.

[3] In the article *Immaculate Conception* in *ERE* it says, "Before the 12th century there was no thought of exempting the mother of Christ from the law of original sin." But the traditions quoted suggest that this cannot be correct.

[4] *Anbiyā'*, 48.

[5] B., *Anbiyā'*, 24, 48; *Libās*, 68; *Ta'bīr*, 11, 33; M., *Īmān*, 273-5, 277; *Fitan*, 110, 116; A.D., *Malāḥim*, 14; T., *Fitan*, 54; I.M., *Fitan*, 33.

show practically no interest in the life and mission of Jesus. Muḥammad is reputed to have said that he is the nearest of men to Jesus, a statement which is explained by saying that no prophet came between them. But the extraordinary statement is commonly added that the prophets are sons of fellow-wives, and no explanation is usually given. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, however, in one of the versions of the tradition, say that, while their mothers are various, their religion is one.[6] Yet this hardly explains it satisfactorily. The tradition at least shows awareness of the fact that there had been no prophet between Jesus and Muḥammad. Al-Bukhārī has a curious story which tells how Jesus saw a man stealing and asked him whether he had stolen. The man swore by God that he had not stolen, whereupon Jesus said, "I believe in God and discredit my eye."[7] This is explained as meaning that God is too great for anyone to swear falsely by Him, and therefore Jesus must accept what he says as true; or that one of God's ordinances declares that an oath is equivalent to a proof. The same section contains the statement that Muḥammad's followers must not go to extremes in lauding him as was done with Jesus, and the further statement that if anyone believes in Jesus and then believes in Muḥammad, he will have a double reward. This, however, does not tell us much about Jesus himself.[8] It is surprising that, while other Muslim sources retail many stories about words and deeds attributed to Jesus, the six canonical books of Tradition should show so little interest in his life on earth. The reason is probably to be found in the fact that Muḥammad is looked on as the medium of God's final revelation, and therefore, while former prophets certainly brought a message from God, the Muslim will find sufficient guidance in the record of what Muḥammad said and did. But the six books have much to say about what Jesus will do before the end of the world when he returns to set everything right.

In traditions about the Mi'rāj, Jesus is mentioned as one of those whom Muḥammad met on his night journey to heaven. He is sometimes said to have met Jesus in the second heaven,[9] but at other times the heaven in which he met him is left vague.[10] Ibn Māja gives a tradition to the effect that Muḥammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus, but that only Jesus could tell him about the events which would precede the last day.[11]

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[6] B., *Anbiyā'*, 48; M., *Faḍā'il*, 143-145; A.D., *Sunna*, 13.

[7] *Anbiyā'*, 48; cf. N., *Ādāb al-quḍāt*, 37.

[8] Ibn Māja (*Fitan*, 23) speaks of a prophet who, when beaten by his people, wiped away the blood and said, "My Lord, forgive my people, for they do not know." While this tradition obviously has a N.T. basis, Jesus is not mentioned as the prophet.

[9] B., *Anbiyā'*, 43; M., *Īmān*, 259, 264; N., *Ṣalāt*, 1.

[10] B., *Ṣalāt*, 1; *Anbiyā'*, 5, 48; M., *Īmān*, 143.

[11] *Fitan*, 33.

It is commonly said that at his second coming Jesus will descend at the white minaret east of Damascus with his hands resting on the wings of two angels. In one tradition Muslim makes the curious remark that he will resemble 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd.[12] The unbelievers will be killed by his breath. He will pursue the Dajjāl and kill him at the gate of Ludd. Then people whom God has preserved from the Dajjāl will come to Jesus and he will tell them about their grades in heaven. Thereafter God will tell him to take His servants to al-Ṭūr. Gog and Magog will then burst forth and there will be a period of great distress; but when Jesus prays, God will kill them all. The stench from their dead bodies will be unbearable, so Jesus will pray again. God will send birds to remove the bodies and a rain to wash the earth. This will be followed by a period of great prosperity. Then God will take up the souls of the believers, after which only the wicked will be left. A time of great confusion will follow, and then the end will come.[13]

Another story, which has been belied by subsequent events, tells of a war between the Byzantines and an army from Medina in which Constantinople will be taken by the Muslims. A lying rumor from the devil will lead the Muslims to return to Syria. While they are preparing to renew the struggle, Jesus will descend and lead them in prayer, and when the Dajjāl sees him he will begin to melt, but Jesus will kill him and show his blood on his spear.[14]

Another tells how most of the Arabs will be in Jerusalem when Jesus will descend. The *imām* will give place to him, but Jesus will tell him to lead the prayers. Afterwards Jesus will order the door to be opened, and the Dajjāl will be seen there with 70,000 armed Jews. The Dajjāl will begin to melt, but Jesus will pursue and catch him and kill him at the east gate of Ludd. God will rout the Jews who will find that even the places where they shelter will shout out where they are hiding. Jesus will then be a just judge and equitable ruler over Muḥammad's people. He will break the Cross, kill the swine and remit *jizya* and *ṣadaqa*. A period of universal peace and goodwill will follow, some of the features of which are borrowed from Isaiah xi,6-9.[15]

The statement that Jesus will be a just judge and equitable leader is common. There is even a suggestion that money will not be sought in the period when he rules, as there will be such general prosperity.[16]

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[12] M., *Fitan*, 116; cf. *Īmān*, 271, 278.

[13] M., *Fitan*, 110; A.D., *Malāḥim*, 14; T., *Fitan*, 59, 62; I.M., *Fitan*, 33.

[14] M., *Fitan*, 34.

[15] I.M., *Fitan*, 33.

[16] B., *Buyū'*, 102; *Maẓālim*, 31; *Anbiyā'*, 49; M., *Īmān*, 242, 243; T., *Fitan*, 54; I.M., *Fitan*, 33.

He will rule by God's book (i.e., the Qur'ān) and the Prophet's *sunna*.[17] There is a tradition which says that he will remain forty years and will then die, and the Muslims will pray over him.[18] Normally a distinction is made between Jesus and the Mahdī, but there is a tradition which says, "The Mahdī is no other than Jesus son of Mary."[19] It is perhaps not surprising that such a tradition should exist, as the function of Jesus at his second coming is very similar to that attributed to the Mahdī.

One cannot but feel that the statements made about Jesus in the six books contain nothing of real value. It is remarkable to find that of all humanity Jesus and Mary are the only ones to be exempt from the devil's touch at birth. No such claim is made for Muḥammad. He evidently suffered from original sin as all men do; his distinction is that at a period in his life an internal cleansing was accomplished. But while these books of Tradition give Jesus this unique quality, and also speak of him as the one who is to come before the last day and set the world to rights, they show no conception of his person or of his real significance. Perhaps that is more than one has a right to expect; but in view of the great amount of information about him in other Muslim sources, one might have expected some of it to be found here.

Although the six books do not give much sign of real knowledge regarding Jesus, Tradition shows a remarkable degree of indebtedness to the New Testament, an indebtedness which is not acknowledged. Parables and words both from the Gospels and from other parts of the New Testament are used. Sometimes one feels that there is a literal borrowing, but at other times it is the thought rather than the actual expression that is borrowed. In all such instances the New Testament language is given forth as if it were the utterance of Muḥammad. But one should beware of deciding too readily that a tradition has a New Testament source because its language sounds like New Testament language. For example, there is a tradition in which Muḥammad is represented as saying, "None of you is a believer until I am dearer to him than his father, his son, and all men."[20] One might say that this is simply a version of Matthew x,37: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me . . ." But one should remember that Qur. ix,24 says, "If your fathers and your sons and your brethren and your wives and your clan . . . are

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[17] M., *Īmān*, 246.

[18] A.D., *Malāḥim*, 14.

[19] I.M., *Fitan*, 34. Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qadian accepted this as the correct tradition, and applied it to himself. See H. A. Walter, *The Aḥmadīya Movement* (O.U.P., 1918), p. 38, where further references to this tradition are given.

[20] Cf. B., *Īmān*, 7.

dearer to you than Allah and His messenger . . . then wait till Allah comes with His affair." It might be argued that this verse contains an echo of the Gospel, but it seems quite unnecessary to try to do so, for the idea might quite well have occurred independently. If one is looking for a source for the tradition quoted, it seems better to look to the Qur'ān than to the Gospel.

While it is important to be careful about ascribing to a New Testament source everything that is reminiscent of the New Testament, there is no question that many traditions have no other source. The subject has been adequately dealt with by Goldziher[21] and Guillaume,[22] and therefore I do not propose to go into it here. Those who are interested will find sufficient material in these sources. It should be added that Tradition is also in debt to the Old Testament. Indeed, Goldziher has pointed out that not only the Old Testament, but anything which seemed worth while was turned into a tradition.[23]

There is a type of tradition which includes certain Biblical sayings about which something should be said. This is the type known as *qudsī* (sacred), or *ilāhī* (divine), which contains words spoken by God. One classification of Tradition is into *qudsī* and *nabawī* (pertaining to the Prophet), the former being what Muḥammad reports as being uttered by God, and the latter what he speaks as from himself. Dr. Zwemer dealt with this subject in an article in The Moslem World,[24] and this was included in his book *Across the World of Islam*.[25] His sources are *Al-itḥāfāt al-sanīya fil-aḥādīth al-qudsīya,* by Muḥammad al-Madanī, containing 858 traditions;[26] a work of the same name by al-Munāwī, of which he purchased a MS. copy in Cairo; and *Mī'at ḥadīth wa-wāḥid qudsīya* by Ibn al-'Arabī.

It would appear that al-Munāwī's work is a shorter version of al-Madanī's, which is divided into three sections, (1) traditions preceded by *qāl* (said), (2) traditions preceded by *yaqūl* (says), (3) traditions in alphabetical order. Dr. Zwemer says that al-Munāwī's work is divided into two sections, (1) traditions beginning with *qāl Allāh,* (2) traditions in alphabetical order. Al-Munāwī has more traditions than al-Madanī beginning with *qāl,*[27] which suggests that his work is not altogether taken from al-Madanī's; but there can be no doubt

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[21] *Muh. Stud.,* ii, pp. 384ff.
[22] *The Traditions of Islam,* pp. 132ff.
[23] *op. cit.,* p. 158.
[24] vol. xii, pp. 263ff.
[25] pp. 75ff. A German translation appeared in *Der Islam,* xiii (1923), pp. 53ff.
[26] publ. Hyderabad, 1323/1905. Brock., *GAL,* Supp. ii, p. 151, gives al-Madyanī.
[27] In al-Madanī's first section, all the traditions do not begin with *qāl Allāh.* Some begin with *qāl Mūsā, qāl Dāwūd,* &c., and lead on to some saying attributed to God.

that al-Madanī is his model, if not completely his source. At the end of his article Dr. Zwemer gives a translation of some of al-Munāwī's traditions, all of which seem to be in al-Madanī's collection. Ibn al-'Arabī's work, which contains a hundred and one traditions, is his *Mishkāt al-anwār,* which was published in Aleppo in 1346/1927 along with *Al-aḥādīth al-qudsīya al-arba'īnīya* by Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī. Ibn al-'Arabī's collection is in three sections, (1) forty traditions with complete *isnād,* (2) forty traditions, some without *isnād,* (3) twenty-one, of which three are attributed to God direct, the others beginning with "Allah's apostle said." The compilers of these works are careful to note in which collections of Tradition these traditions are to be found, and it is of interest to notice that many of them come from canonical collections, which shows how these traditions had established themselves. In these collections they are not distinguished from the mass of Tradition, but it is not surprising that the divine traditions should have been picked out by religiously-minded men and arranged together.

The existence of such traditions raises the question of different types of revelation. 'Alī al-Qārī discusses the matter briefly in the introduction to his work mentioned above, and al-Madanī has a more lengthy discussion at the end of his work. To this the editor has added a quotation from al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of Technical Terms.*[28] The speech attributed to God is said to be of three kinds, (1) the Qur'ān, which is the highest degree, (2) words found in the books of other prophets before they were tampered with, (3) divine traditions. For practical purposes this would reduce it to the Qur'ān and the divine traditions. Between these two types of God's speech there is a sixfold difference: (1) The Qur'ān is inimitable, but the divine traditions are not. (2) The Qur'ān is used in the prayers; to use divine traditions would invalidate prayers. (3) One who denies the Qur'ān is an infidel, but this cannot be said of one who denies a divine tradition. (4) Gabriel is the intermediary in transmitting the Qur'ān, but not necessarily in transmitting divine traditions.[29] (5) The Qur'ān contains nothing but God's words, whereas words of Muḥammad's may come into a divine tradition. (6) The Qur'ān may be touched only by one who is in a state of ceremonial purity, whereas this restriction does not apply to divine traditions.

This is a most interesting distinction showing that, even when Tradition contains words spoken by God, it comes second in impor-

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[28] pp. 280f.

[29] The divine traditions may have come through Gabriel, or they may have been revealed in sleep, or they may have been teaching which Muḥammad received on the night of the Mi'rāj.

tance to the Qur'ān. Briefly, the distinction is that the Qur'ān is a type of inspiration unaffected by Muḥammad's personality, whereas the divine traditions come through his personality. It is further argued that, whereas the Qur'ān must be quoted literally, it is not so necessary to be accurate in quoting the wording of a divine tradition. The Qur'ān is the actual words of God, and therefore one cannot quote it according to the general sense, or substitute a word for a Qur'ānic word, as its words are so rich in meaning that nothing can adequately take the place of any of them.[30] But the divine traditions were not revealed in the same way. They were messages Muḥammad was told to deliver without the details of the wording of the message being prescribed. Thus when one quotes the Qur'ān one says, "God said"; but when quoting a divine tradition one says, "God's apostle said in what he related from his Lord," or "God said in what His apostle reported from Him." The distinction which is thus made is very ingenious, allowing as it does for different grades of revelation which is all ultimately attributed to God.

The divine traditions include a number which have obviously a biblical origin. There are a number connected with Israelites but not evidently based on the Bible. There are others which purport to give words spoken to such as Moses, David, Job, Jesus, although there seems commonly to be no biblical basis for them. There are some traditions which suggest a biblical source. For example, "If one's remembrance of me diverts him from asking [things] from me, I will give him before he asks me"[31] (cf. Isaiah lxv,24). "If it pleases anyone to have long life and to have his provision increased, let him join ties of relationship"[32] (cf. Psalm xxxiv,12ff.). "O son of man, as I do not demand from you to-morrow's work, do not demand from me to-morrow's food"[33] (cf. Matthew vi,11, 31, 34). There is a danger of attributing everything which faintly suggests it to the Bible, and therefore it is advisable, as has been suggested already (sup. p. 260), to be on one's guard against deciding too readily that the Bible is the source of every saying which is reminiscent of a biblical phrase. In the second of the three examples quoted, it actually says that these words are written in the Torah, which shows that the Bible is acknowledged as the source, even though the tradition has not been very successful in quoting it. It should, however, be recognized that it is quite possible for these traditions to contain phrases reminiscent of the Bible which are really quite independent. For example, there is one which says, "O son of man, spend and it will be spent upon you, for God's right

[30] For a discussion of this point cf. Tahānawī, *op. cit.*, p. 1162.
[31] Madanī, No. 86.
[32] Madanī, Nos. 723, 732.
[33] Ibn al-'Arabī, (2), No. 19.

hand is full and bountiful, nothing diminishes it by night and day."[34] One might be inclined to say that this comes from Luke vi,38, or even that it owes something to Isaiah l,2, or lix,1. But that seems to me to be carrying things too far. It is possible for similar sayings to come from sources which are quite independent of one another, and I suppose that most of us have made the disconcerting discovery that some of our most original thoughts have already been expressed by someone else.

But while this is said, there can be no doubt that some of the divine traditions are directly dependent on the Bible. The phrase "what eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man," occurs in a number.[35] It seems clear that the following is based on Isaiah lviii,6ff., "God said, Everyone who prays does not [really] pray. Prayer is accepted only from him who is humble before my greatness, who restrains his passions from the things I have forbidden, who has not persisted in disobeying me, but has fed the hungry, clothed the naked, shown pity to the afflicted and given refuge to the stranger. All that pertains to me and my might and glory. The light of his face is brighter in my sight than the light of the sun. It is incumbent on me to make for him ignorance, knowledge and darkness, light. He will call on me and I will respond to him, he will ask of me and I will give him, and he will make vows to me and I will accept him. I will feed him with my food and ask my angels to take charge of him. In my sight he is like a garden whose fruit does not wither or deteriorate."[36] While the tradition is by no means a translation of the passage in Isaiah, there are so many resemblances that one cannot fail to recognize the tradition's dependence on it.

A tradition states that on the Day of Resurrection God will say, "O son of man, I was sick and you did not visit me." He will reply, "O Lord, how could I visit Thee when Thou art the Lord of the worlds?" God will say, "Did you not know that my servant, so and so, was sick, yet you did not visit him? Did you not know that if you had visited him, you would have found me with him?" It continues in the same strain regarding hunger and thirst.[37] One cannot fail to recognize the dependence of this tradition on Matthew xxv,41ff. Another says explicitly, "It is written in the Injīl, as you judge you will be judged, and with the measure that you mete it will be meted to you"[38] (cf. Matthew vii,2).

Some of the traditions show a certain knowledge of the Bible, but

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[34] Madanī, No. 113.
[35] Madaṇī, Nos. 17, 18, 597, 669; Ibn al-'Arabī, (1), No. 21; 'Alī al-Qārī, No. 10.
[36] Madanī, No. 99. cf. No. 240.
[37] Madanī, No. 401; Ibn al-'Arabī, (3), No. 18; Al-Qārī, No. 4.
[38] Madanī, No. 731.

are by no means accurate in detail. One of these shows a little knowledge of the Ten Commandments. It says that among what God gave Moses on the tables the first was the command to give thanks to Him and to one's parents. Next comes a modified form of the command, "Thou shalt not kill," with threats attached. The only other commandment mentioned is "Do not swear falsely by my name, for I will not declare to be pure and clean him who does not declare my perfection and honour my name."[39] There is an interesting example of a closer acquaintance with Scripture in a tradition very close to Leviticus x,1ff. "Aaron had two sons who served the mosque and lit its lamps with fire which came to them from heaven; but one night the fire delayed beyond its usual time and the two young men lit those lamps from earthly fire. Then the fire came from heaven and fell on them, and Aaron got up to extinguish the fire from those two sons of his, but Moses shouted, 'Refrain from that and let God's command be fulfilled in them.' Then God revealed to Moses, 'This is what I do to those of my friends who disobey my command, so how will it be with those of my enemies who disobey my command?' "[40] Another, reminiscent of Matthew vii,15, speaks of hypocritical people who wear the skins of sheep, but whose hearts are the hearts of wolves.[41] God is said to have revealed this in one of His books to one of His prophets. There is a tradition which gives a twist to the parable of Dives and Lazarus. It tells of a rich man who used to throw the leavings of his food on to a dunghill and of a devotee who gathered the scraps. The rich man died and was sent to hell, and the devotee spent the rest of his life in the deserts. When he died God asked him whether anyone had done him kindness for which he wished to reward him, but he replied that there was no one. God then asked him where he had got his food, and he replied that he had first got it from a rich man's dunghill and afterwards had lived on herbs in the desert. God then called the rich man from hell and the devotee recognized him, so God told him to take him by the hand and lead him into Paradise for the kindness he had done, adding that if the rich man had known of it He would not have sent him to hell.[42] This is sufficient to illustrate how these traditions are often dependent on biblical sources, but there is another which should be mentioned because of a very surprising feature in it. It says, "David made a request of God and said, 'Make me like Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.' Then God revealed to him, 'I tested Abraham with fire and he showed endurance, and Isaac with sacrifice and he showed endurance, and I tested Jacob and he showed endurance.' "[43] The editor has added a foot-note to the reference to

[39] Madanī, No. 655.
[40] Madanī, No. 647.
[41] Madanī, No. 335 (cf. 56); Ibn al-'Arabī, (1), No. 35.
[42] Madanī, No. 652.
[43] Madanī, No. 473.

Isaac, saying, "Thus it is in the original, but what is well known is Ishmael's being tested with sacrifice." The person responsible for the tradition stuck to the Old Testament story in spite of the normal Muslim version of it.

Quite clearly a number of these traditions find their origin in the Bible, although very often they suggest a second-hand acquaintance with it. But at times the knowledge of biblical language is evidently at first-hand. It would seem that traditionists themselves recognized the tendency to borrow from non-Islamic sources, for there are traditions which speak of the subject. In one the Prophet is represented as saying, "Recite [traditions] from the B. Isrā'īl, and there is no sin."[44] In another Muḥammad says, "They will certainly follow the tradition of their predecessors span by span and cubit by cubit, so that if they entered the hole of a lizard you would follow them." He was asked, "Are they the Jews and Christians?" and replied, "Who else?"[45] This latter conveys an impression of disapproval, but the first quite emphatically makes allowance for quoting Jews at least. Yet although al-Bukhārī and Muslim both give the second of the traditions quoted, a number of the divine traditions are to be found in their collections, including some of those which clearly come from biblical sources. Al-Madanī, Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Qārī all mention the works from which they have taken the divine traditions, and it is remarkable to notice how many of them come from the six canonical books, although it should be added that most of them are taken from non-canonical collections of tradition.

Al-Madanī gives his traditions without the *isnād,* but as he tells in which collection each tradition occurs, the *isnād* can be found there. Al-Qārī mentions merely the Companion who is reputed to have transmitted the tradition from the Prophet. Ibn al-'Arabī gives a full *isnād* in the first part of his work, sometimes in the second, and in most traditions in the third. There is one very august *isnād* to which attention may be drawn. The tradition which, needless to say, is not in any of the canonical books, promises that if anyone recites once, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," joined to the *Fātiḥa,* his good deeds will be accepted, his evil deeds forgiven, he will be saved from hell and other punishment and terror, and will meet God before all the prophets and saints. There is a long *isnād* back to Abū Bakr who got the tradition from Muḥammad, to whom it came from Gabriel who got it from Michael who got it from Isrāfīl who told him that God had spoken the words of the tradition.[46]

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[44] A.D., *'Ilm,* 11; T., *'Ilm,* 13. It is interesting to note that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (*Musnad,* iii, p. 13) gives a version of this tradition in which the expression of approval is even stronger.

[45] B., *al-i'tiṣām bil-kitāb wal-sunna,* 14; M., *'Ilm,* 6.

[46] Ibn al-'Arabī, (1), No. 6.

There are other aspects of these traditions which might be discussed, but they cannot be dealt with here. It is sufficient at the moment to remark that a number, not surprisingly, contain characteristic Muslim teaching; and that there are many which tell what God is going to say at the Last Judgment. It is quite appropriate that these latter should be included, as they are God's words, although they still remain to be said. The works mentioned should be consulted. Those who cannot read Arabic will find a translation of a number of divine traditions in Dr. Zwemer's article.

Tradition represents Muḥammad as being aware of what is to happen within his community after his death. For example, he is credited with an astonishing knowledge of the early history of the Caliphate. He tells the people to follow his *sunna* and that of the rightly-guided Caliphs.[47] He says that the Caliphate will last thirty years, and then will be followed by a kingdom.[48] This is clearly directed against the Umayyads. But elsewhere he says that there will be twelve Caliphs, thus making allowance for the Umayyad Caliphs up to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.[49] Sometimes it is said that the religion will be mighty during this period, and sometimes that all these twelve will belong to Quraish. The 'Abbāsid interest is shown by a tradition in which al-'Abbās tells Muḥammad that Quraish greet one another cordially, but act differently towards him. The Prophet thereupon declared, "Faith does not enter a man's heart till he loves you[50] for God and His apostle." He then added, "O people, he who injures my paternal uncle has injured me, for a man's paternal uncle is his father's brother."[51] One feels that this is not just a matter of a man speaking up for his uncle; it is rather a tradition whose purpose is to uphold the 'Abbāsid cause. Al-Tirmidhī has a tradition which speaks of black banners coming from Khurāsān which nothing can repulse.[52] Ibn Māja has one which is even more precise in its support of the 'Abbāsids. It tells of people coming with black banners from the East who, after they are victorious, will dispense justice. Then the Prophet says, "Whoever of you attains to that, let him come to them, even though [he has to do it] creeping on the snow."[53] There can be no doubt that such traditions have been fabricated to support particular points of view. Al-Zuhrī is said to have accused the Umayyads of compelling people to forge traditions,[54] a statement which may pos-

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[47] A.D., *Sunna*, 5; I.M., *Introd.* 6.
[48] T., *Fitan*, 48.
[49] B., *Aḥkām*, 51; M., *Imāra*, 5-10; A.D., *Mahdī*, 1-3; T., *Fitan*, 46.
[50] The pronoun here is plural, indicating al-'Abbās and his descendants.
[51] T., *Manāqib*, 28.
[52] *Fitan*, 79. He calls this tradition *gharīb*.
[53] *Fitan*, 34.
[54] cf. Guillaume, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

sibly be quite true; but whether the 'Abbāsids used any compulsion or not, there were those who felt it was to their interest to spread traditions in support of the 'Abbāsid cause. But the compilers of the six books have obviously used some degree of caution regarding the acceptance of traditions of this type, as their number is not large.

We also find traditions regarding parties which grew up in the early period of Islam. Quite a number of traditions deal with the Khārijites. They are foretold as foolish people who will swerve from the religion as surely as an arrow hits the mark. They will despise other people's prayers in comparison with their own, and they will recite the Qur'ān, but it will not penetrate beyond their throats. Their words are good, but their acts are evil. They will summon people to God's Book but have no part in it themselves. Their mark is shaving.[55] A number of traditions urge the necessity of killing the Khārijites, and speak of the reward which will be given for doing so; but there is one form in which 'Alī is reported as saying that, if it were not that people would go to extremes, he would tell them what Allah had promised by the mouth of His prophet to those who killed them.[56] Ibn Māja quotes the Prophet as saying that the Khārijites were the dogs of the people of hell.[57] The virulence of the traditions on this subject shows how bitterly the community felt towards this unruly party.

Other parties which share in the Prophet's condemnation are the Murji'a, the Qadarīya and the Jahmīya. He declares that the Murji'a and the Qadarīya have no portion in Islām.[58] The Qadarīya are called the Magians of his people,[59] and he declares that swallowing up, metamorphosis, or stoning will be their lot.[60] The Qadarīya come in for more condemnation. Abū Dāwūd[61] and Ibn Māja[62] bring the condemnations into their chapters on God's decree, which indicates that the whole doctrine of these chapters is directed against them. No allowance is made in them for belief in free-will. The Jahmīya are not mentioned by name in any tradition, but Abū Dāwud[63] and Ibn Māja[64] devote a chapter to the refutation of their views, in which the

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[55] These details will be found in B., *Anbiyā'*, 6; *Istitābat al-murtaddīn*, 6, 7; M., *Zakāt*, 142-160; A.D., *Sunna*, 27; T., *Fitan*, 24; N., *Taḥrīm al-dam*, 26; I.M., *Introd.* 12.

[56] M., *Zakāt*, 155; I.M., *Introd.*, 12.

[57] *ibid.*

[58] T., *Qadar*, 13; I.M., *Introd.*, 9.

[59] A.D., *Sunna*, 16; I.M., *Introd.*, 10.

[60] T., *Qadar*, 16.

[61] *Sunna*, 16.

[62] *Introd.*, 10

[63] *Sunna*, 18.

[64] *Introd.*, 13.

traditions speak of God in anthropomorphic terms, insist that He is controlling His creation, and speak of the vastness of the heavens above which His throne is set. Ibn Māja has a tradition in explanation of Qur. lv,29 ("Every day He is engaged in something"), to the effect that this refers to such matters as forgiving sins, removing cares, exalting some and lowering others.[65]

Traditions are found in praise of certain countries which were not within the sphere of Islam in the Prophet's lifetime, such as Egypt,[66] Persia,[67] Syria,[68] and al-Dailam.[69] Towns such as al-Baṣra,[70] Constantinople,[71] Jerusalem,[72] and Qazwīn[73] are mentioned. References to the Turks are quite frequent.[74] One has no difficulty in recognizing that traditions such as these can hardly be genuine statements of the Prophet. He could conceivably have spoken well of Jerusalem, and if it were the only town mentioned, one might not raise any objection; but it is extremely unlikely that he could have foretold the conquest of Constantinople and Qazwīn. As for al-Baṣra, it was not founded in the Prophet's lifetime, yet the *bāb* to which reference is given speaks not only of al-Baṣra, but mentions the mosque of al-'Ashshār.[75] It is not surprising that such traditions should have been fabricated, but they would be more appropriate in collections other than the canonical ones.

The subject-matter of Tradition is vast, covering, as was indicated in the previous article,[76] almost every conceivable subject necessary for the guidance of the good Muslim. It is impossible, without writing at great length, to give an impression of the wealth of material; and therefore I have felt it to be more useful to take up a few subjects and indicate what is said about them. Guillaume has given a number of traditions on various subjects, illustrating mainly matters of ethics and personal relationships.[77] Muhammad Ali, the great apologist of the Aḥmadīya Movement, published *A Manual of Hadith,* in which

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[65] To appreciate the point of such traditions cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (see index under Djahm b. Ṣafwān); J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology,* Part 1, vol. 2, p. 27; W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam,* pp. 99ff.

[66] M., *Faḍā'il al-ṣaḥāba,* 226f.

[67] *ibid.,* 230f.

[68] A.D., *Jihād,* 3; T., *Manāqib,* 74.

[69] I.M., *Jihād,* 11.

[70] A.D., *Malāḥim,* 10.

[71] A.D., *Malāḥim,* 3f; I.M., *Jihād,* 11.

[72] M., *Masājid,* 1; A.D., *Ṣalāt,* 14; N., *Masājid,* 3; I.M., *Masājid,* 7.

[73] I.M., *Jihād,* 11.

[74] B., *Manāqib,* 25; A.D., *Malāḥim,* 9; T., *Fitan,* 40; I.M., *Fitan,* 36.

[75] The modern town of this name stands on the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab at the mouth of the creek which leads to al-Baṣra. For traditions on various districts, see Goldziher, *Muh Stud.,* ii, pp. 128ff.

[76] MW, vol. xli, p. 171.

[77] *The Traditions of Islam,* pp. 98ff.

he presents traditions on a variety of subjects in both Arabic and English. It is certainly scrappy, but it may prove to be useful to one who wishes a brief introduction to aspects of the material. A much more comprehensive work, which may be consulted by those who wish a general view of the material without going through the collections themselves, is the *Mishkāt al-maṣābiḥ* by Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī. A translation of most of this work was published by A. N. Matthews (Calcutta, 1809)[78] and a large and representative amount of it has been translated by the Rev. William Goldsack under the title *Selections from Muhammadan Traditions* (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, 1923). This latter is more accessible, and has the further advantage that it gives at the end of each tradition the name of the collection or collections where it occurs. The student who wishes to study particular topics will find great help in *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition,* by A. J. Wensinck (Leiden, 1927). This work is arranged alphabetically and gives references under the various subjects not only to the six books, but to eight others besides. A much larger work is his *Concordance,* which is still not completely published. This work is an invaluable aid when one comes across a tradition and wishes to find where it occurs. Unfortunately, when one is looking for a tradition, only too often the significant word begins with a letter not yet reached by the *Concordance,* an experience which makes one long for the completion of its publication. All such aids are invaluable, but one who wishes to make a study of Tradition should not be satisfied with them. There is nothing to make up for going steadily through one of the standard collections, or at least through some *kitābs.* This gives one a feeling for the subject which cannot be gained merely by reading through anthologies.

Finally, for the general understanding of the subject, Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien,* Part ii, is indispensable. The work begun by Goldziher has recently been developed in a book of outstanding merit, *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence,* by Joseph Schacht (Oxford University Press, 1950), in which the problem of the development of legal traditions is discussed with great acumen. The author produces evidence to show how and when legal traditions were produced, and in so doing has made a most original contribution to the problem. He has developed a technique which might with advantage be applied to the study of other types of tradition.

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[78] See Brockelmann, *GAL,* i, p. 364. Supp., i, p. 621.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SHARĪʿA LAW V

The Dissolution of Marriage

Up till the year 1915 the "most authoritative Ḥanafī opinion" held almost[1] absolute sway in all that concerned the dissolution of marriage throughout the whole Ottoman Empire, except only where and in so far as it was officially permitted for e.g., Shāfiʿī law to be applied to Shāfiʿī litigants[2] or other non-Ḥanafīs followed their own law among themselves without recourse to the official courts.[3] And in this matter of dissolution of marriage the accepted Ḥanafī rules are more rigid and retrogressive than those of any other school, for they virtually deny the wife any right of divorce whatever, judicial or otherwise, while they not only leave the power of the husband unilaterally to repudiate his wife completely unfettered, as do all the Sunnī schools, but go further than any other in regarding as valid, binding and even final various expressions of divorce never really intended to have that effect. Thus the wife can never divorce her husband or divorce herself from him unless he has expressly given her this right *(tafwīḍ al-ṭalāq)*, while even an offer to redeem herself for a financial consideration is absolutely dependent on his consent: nor has she any right to the judicial dissolution of her marriage, however long she has been deserted or severely she has been maltreated, or even if she finds herself unwittingly married to one afflicted with some loathsome and infectious disease. The only circumstances in which the accepted Ḥanafī opinion allows a marriage to be annulled on the demand of the wife are where the husband proves totally incapable of consummating the marriage or where a child-wife, married in infancy by a guardian other than her father or grandfather, repudiates the marriage by the "option of puberty".[4] An adult, sane husband, on the other hand, may irrevocably repudiate his wife at any moment and for any reason, even by a formula which precludes the parties from remarriage unless or until the wife has consummated a marriage with another husband and has been widowed or again divorced. More, an oath or threat supported by the "triple divorce" will have precisely this effect as soon as the oath is broken or the threat ignored, quite regardless of the real intention or desire of the husband; while formulae of divorce uttered in jest, intoxication or under compulsion are regarded as valid, operative and binding.

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[1] For an instance of a trifling exception, see Art. IV, The Muslim World, Vol. XLI, No. 3, p. 191.

[2] See Article II (The Muslim World, Vol. XLI, No. 1), p. 37.

[3] This would, of course, have been the normal practice of the various Shīʿī groups.

[4] Or an insane wife, married by her guardian in insanity, exercises a similar option on recovering her sanity.

It was in fact the suffering caused to wives by these rigid and retrogressive rules which first compelled an official departure from the "authoritative Ḥanafī opinion" in matters of personal status. Thus in 1915, as we have seen,[5] the Sulṭān issued an Irāda permitting judicial dissolution of marriage throughout the Empire, regardless of the school of the parties, in cases where a husband deserted his wife and she could not obtain maintenance. In the same year another Irāda Sulṭānīya permitted wives to claim dissolution of marriage on the grounds that their husbands were, or had become, afflicted with some disease which made the continuance of the marriage relationship injurious. And these two concessions were considerably expanded two years later in the Law of Family Rights, which not only further defined and extended the circumstances in which a wife might obtain dissolution of marriage, but even took a few faltering steps towards restricting the effect of certain expressions of divorce uttered by a husband.

Nor was it only in Turkey that these abuses were attracting the attention of reformers. On the contrary, it may be plausibly argued that the writings of Muḥammad 'Abdūh and Qāsim Amīn in Egypt around the turn of the century profoundly influenced progressive thought in Turkey as elsewhere: while it seems that even before 1892 Muḥammad Shākir[6] had suggested that young wives whose husbands were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment should be granted divorce on the grounds of loneliness and fear of unchastity; that in 1899 he submitted a memorandum to Muḥammad 'Abdūh, who had meanwhile become Muftī, suggesting the adoption of Mālikī principles regarding the right of wives to claim judicial divorce on other grounds also; and that when, soon after, he became Grand Qāḍī of the Sudan he tried to introduce these principles into the courts of that country. While, however, such suggestions were widely canvassed in Egypt in the following years, and even formed the essence of a draft law prepared by a Committee of jurists, drawn from all four orthodox schools, which was formed in 1915 to submit recommendations for reform, no such provision was actually put into effect in that country until the Laws of 1920 and 1929.[7] Meanwhile, however, several of the proposals mooted in Egypt were actually introduced in the Sudan in 1916, while others, again, were adopted there subsequently to their promulgation in Egypt (e.g., in 1927 and 1935). Nor is the path of reform in these matters by any

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[5] Art. II, p. 38.

[6] A well-known Egyptian jurist. See *Niẓām al-ṭalāq fī'l Islām*, by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, pp. 9 ff.

[7] See Article IV, pp. 190 ff. . . . The moving spirit in these reforms was Shaykh Muṣṭapha 'l-Marāghī.

means closed, for besides certain bold but abortive proposals for piece-meal reform which will engage our attention later, a comprehensive code of personal law, conceived much along the lines of the reforms already introduced, was nearing completion in Egypt more than a year ago, and has been delayed chiefly by political differences between its sponsors and the Government.

The Ottoman Law of Family Rights includes thirty Articles (102-131) dealing with the dissolution of marriages between Muslims. Arts. 102-110 concern "general principles," Arts. 111-118 treat revocable and final divorces, and Arts. 119-131 cover what is termed the "option of separation"[8] *(khiyār al-tafrīq)*. These articles, however, may be more conveniently classified for our purpose as those which represent no more than a summary of accepted Ḥanafī principles and call for no comment here; those which differ from those principles only in minor respects and must, for reasons of space, be largely ignored in this article; those which represent measures in which this Law blazed the trail of reform; and those points in which its sponsors did not venture so far as have the Egyptian reformers. The last two categories will claim our attention throughout this article, but of the second a single instance (Art. 103) must suffice.

This article reads, "the (proper) object of repudiation is a wife validly married or observing her *'idda*. But a wife observing her *'idda* after her marriage has been annulled (by *faskh)* is not a proper object of repudiation *(ṭalāq)*." This is sound Ḥanafī doctrine except that it makes no distinction between the two different categories into which *faskh* (annulment or dissolution of marriage) falls in the Sharī'a, for while the first of these represents annulment on the grounds of some defect inherent in the contract ab initio (e.g., when a girl married in infancy or insanity exercises her "option of puberty" or of recovery of sanity, or when a marriage guardian exercises his right to claim annulment of his ward's marriage with a spouse who is not her 'equal'—according, that is, to the opinion which holds such marriage to be initially valid but liable to such annulment), the second concerns those cases where a marriage, in which there was originally no defect whatever, is dissolved by some subsequent act of one of the parties which causes disruption of the union. With regard to the first category Art. 103 is perfectly regular, since there the annulment is antedated, as it were, to the inception of the contract and the woman whose marriage is annulled is henceforth regarded as no true wife, although she must keep her *'idda* as a precautionary measure. But when the same term is used, as it regularly is, of a mar-

[8] But it is noteworthy that here and elsewhere in this legislation the term "separation" implies a final dissolution of marriage, for the English concept of judicial separation is largely alien to the Sharī'a.

riage dissolved by some subsequent occurrence which makes the continuance of the union impossible in Islamic law (e.g., such intimacy between husband or wife and some relation of the other party as would raise the bar of affinity between them;[9] the "apostacy" of the wife from Islam; or the apostacy of the husband in the view of Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf—although here Muḥammad al-Shaybānī disagrees and terms the dissolution *ṭalāq,* on the grounds that the marriage is in this case dissolved by the voluntary act of the husband), Act. 103 goes beyond the orthodox doctrine: for in such cases the wife observing her *'idda* is (or was) a legal wife, and words of divorce then uttered are regarded as valid in themselves and possessed of legal effect[10] should the parties subsequently remarry. It is also noteworthy in this connection that the same word *faskh* is employed by the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs for the judicial dissolution of marriage at the request e.g., of a deserted wife, while the Mālikīs regard this as judicial divorce *(taṭlīq);* but the Lebanese version (at least) of the Law of Family Rights consistently avoids the word *faskh* in Arts. 119-131 and employs instead the term "separation,"[11] while Art. 131 expressly states that such a decree shall constitute a final *ṭalāq* and shall be registered accordingly. This provides an interesting sidelight on the difficulty of discussing Islamic law without using the original Arabic terms.

Reforms concerning the effect of certain formulae of divorce uttered by the husband are limited to three articles. Thus Art. 104 enacts that a divorce uttered in intoxication is to be disregarded; Art. 105 extends this principle to a divorce uttered under compulsion; while Art. 109 decrees that "Divorce is effected by explicit expressions or metaphorical expressions which are customarily regarded as equivalent thereto; but in the case of metaphorical expressions not so regarded by custom, divorce is only effected if the husband so intended. Should the parties differ as to whether the husband intended divorce or not, the husband's word shall be accepted on oath." With regard to compulsion the reform represents an adoption of the view shared, in the main, by the three non-Ḥanafī schools, while the Explanatory Memorandum also quotes certain Ḥanafī texts in support. The question of intoxication is more difficult, for here the majority of jurists consider a divorce uttered during intoxication which was culpably induced valid and binding. But the Explanatory Memorandum sensibly remarks: "As

[9] Where the husband is the offender Muḥammad al-Shaybānī would presumably employ the same term as in the case of his "apostacy" (see below).

[10] i.e., would count against the maximum of three repudiations to which a husband has the right.

[11] *Tafrīq,* and other derivatives from the same root.

regards divorce there should be no difference between drunkenness culpably or innocently induced, since there is no analogy between punishing a husband for doing a forbidden thing and imposing on him the legal results of an act committed in a state of temporary insanity. . . . To make the security and continuance of a family depend on the difference between drunkenness culpably and innocently induced at a time when laxity of morals is wide-spread places that family on the edge of a slippery precipice." The Ḥanafī jurists Muḥammad bin Sallām, al-Karkhī and al-Ṭaḥāwī are here quoted in support, together with one report from al-Shāfi'i: while strong Ḥanbalī support might also have been adduced. As for metaphorical expressions which may or may not imply divorce, Art. 109 represents an adoption of the Shāfi'ī and Mālikī view in preference to the orthodox Ḥanafī doctrine (shared by some Ḥanbalīs) that such expressions must be regarded as effecting divorce, quite apart from either custom or the intention of the husband, if the circumstances were such as to make divorce the natural meaning of the words[12]—a doctrine described by the Explanatory Memorandum as "contrary to the principle that marriage must be guarded and that family life must be protected." It is also noteworthy in passing that Art. 110 makes registration of divorce obligatory, but in no way invalidates a divorce not so registered.

It was not until 1929 that the Egyptian reformers introduced similar provisions, for only in the Law of that year did Art. 1 provide that formulae of divorce uttered in intoxication or under compulsion were invalid, while Art. 4 enacted that "metaphorical expressions of divorce—that is, expressions which may or may not carry that meaning—shall not effect divorce unless this was intended." But in other respects this Law went far beyond the Ottoman provisions. Thus where Art. 116 of the Law of Family Rights provides, in orthodox Ḥanafī fashion, that "If a man divorces his wife before he consummates the marriage this divorce is final; while a divorce is also final if expressed in terms which imply finality or if it be for a monetary consideration," Art. 5 of the Egyptian Law prescribes that "Every divorce shall be revocable except a third divorce, a divorce before consummation, a divorce for money, or a divorce expressly stated to be final under this Law or Law No. 25 of 1920"—the difference, of course, being that formulae of divorce by expressions implying finality are now, contrary to Ḥanafī principles, regarded as always revocable in Egypt on the Shāfi'ī view (shared by some Mālikīs) that no expression of finality can deprive the husband of his divinely prescribed right to take back his wife, during the continu-

[12] This is termed *dalālat al-ḥāl.*

ance of her *'idda,* unless the divorce were triple or for a consideration. Again, where Arts. 106 and 107 of the Ottoman Law follow normal Ḥanafī principles in declaring that a divorce suspended on a condition and a divorce postponed until a future date are both valid, Art. 2 of the Egyptian Law provides that "a divorce not immediately effective shall be inoperative if intended only to induce some act or abstention therefrom"—and this wording was designed to include not only a conditional divorce used as a threat to the wife or an inducement or deterrent to a third party, but also an expression of divorce used as an oath to reinforce some assertion, denial or promise made by the husband. As a result, all such expressions now effect divorce only if the husband really desired to dissolve his marriage should the specified condition be fulfilled. In so far as the use of divorce as an actual oath is concerned, this reform is said to find support among certain jurists in all four schools, the Ẓāhirīs and certain very early authorities (including 'Alī, Shurayḥ, Ṭāwūs and 'Ikrima); while for the extension of this principle to its use as a quasi-oath to reinforce some threat or inducement the authority of 'Alī, Shurayḥ, 'Aṭā', al-Ḥakam b. 'Utayba and the Ẓāhirīs is claimed.[13]

Equally drastic is Art. 3 of the Egyptian Law, which reads: "A divorce coupled, by word or sign, with a number shall only be regarded as single"—i.e., if a man holds up three fingers while he says to his wife "I divorce you," or says "I divorce you one hundred times," the divorce will be single and revocable, not triple and final. This, like the former reform, is contrary to the accepted views of all four Sunnī schools and to the alleged consensus of orthodox Islam; but the Explanatory Memorandum argues in favor of the reform not only by cogent inferences from the Qur'ān and a statement attributed to Ibn 'Abbās that it was only in the Caliphate of 'Umar that the latter decreed that a triple divorce uttered in one sentence or on a single occasion was in future to be regarded as triple and final, but also alleges the support of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, Dā'ūd al Ẓāhirī, various doctors of Cordova and later jurists such as Ibn Taymīya and Ibn al-Qayyim. It is noteworthy, moreover, both that this provision is unique among the reforms so far promulgated in not merely giving effect to the real intention of the husband but in limiting the legal effect of something he may have fully intended, and also that all these Egyptian reforms were reproduced almost verbatim in the Sudan in 1935 by Judicial Circular No. 41, Arts. 1-5.

This exhausts the provisions of the recent legislation regarding expressions of divorce uttered by the husband. It is self-evident, however, that the Egyptian provisions are far from comprehensive, and

[13] See the Explanatory Memorandum issued with this Law.

it may be noted in passing that among other innovations likely to be included in subsequent legislation is the provision that a formula of divorce uttered as a joke shall not be effective. This would seem natural enough, on all counts: but the reform would run counter not only to the alleged consensus of orthodox Islām but to the express wording of two widely accepted Traditions, and would have to rest largely on Ẓāhirī support,[14] together with the official view of the Ithna 'Asharī Shī'īs. But to proposals for further measures of reform in Egypt we must return later. As the law now stands, of course, all that is not covered by the piece-meal reforms of 1920 and 1929 is still governed by the "authoritative Ḥanafī doctrine," including inter alia the vexed question of what sort of subsequent marriage will make a triply-divorced wife again lawful to her former husband: but it is interesting in this connection to note that the Law of Family Rights here again goes somewhat beyond the accepted Ḥanafī view when it provides in Art. 118 that the intervening marriage will only have this effect if it was concluded without this intention (*qaṣd al-taḥlīl*). This, of course, raises a very vexed controversy. Most jurists take the view that the Courts are not concerned in such cases with the inner intent of the parties but only with the words they used in concluding the second contract,[15] while Abū Ḥanīfa and Zufar went so far as to say that even an open expression of the *qaṣd al-taḥlīl* would not invalidate either the contract or the subsequent remarriage, although it would not itself be enforceable as a condition: but Art. 118 finds support among certain Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs who regard as void a marriage concluded with even the unexpressed intention of *taḥlīl,* on the grounds that the device was cursed by the Prophet and that the contract must be regarded as essentially temporary and therefore invalid.

It is when we turn to the reforms designed to give relief to unhappy wives that we find that much more progress has been made. True, Articles 119-121 of the Law of Family Rights virtually[16] summarize the accepted Ḥanafī principles under which a wife may claim dissolution of marriage, either immediately or after a year's respite according to her husband's condition, if he proves totally unable to consummate the union—on condition firstly that she is not herself afflicted with some disease which would prevent intercourse,

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[14] e.g., from Ibn Ḥazm.

[15] Thus Abū Yūsuf regarded a marriage where such an intent was expressed as essentially irregular, while al-Shaybānī held it valid in itself but ineffective in making the woman lawful to her first husband.

[16] The only exception is that the distinction between those husbands who have the right to a year's respite and those who have not is their susceptibility to cure rather than the more rigid, but broadly similar, classification found in the Ḥanafī texts.

secondly that she did not know before she married that her husband was an eunuch, and thirdly that she did not consent to continue the marriage relationship after discovering his impotence. To these articles, moreover, the Egyptian legislation provides no parallel, so the authoritative Ḥanafī opinion still prevails there too in this matter—as also in the Sudan. Articles 122-125 of the Law of Family Rights, however, are more radical and virtually reproduce the Irāda Sulṭānīya of 1915 regarding a wife's right to dissolution of marriage if her husband proves to be, or subsequently becomes, afflicted with some grave disease "which makes it impossible for her to remain with him without injury"—such as elephantiasis, leprosy, syphilis or madness (but not, e.g., blindness or lameness), as the Lebanese version of the Law specifically states. As in the case of inability to consummate the marriage, the Court is to grant the husband a year's respite for treatment if his condition is such as to give hope of a cure, but to grant dissolution of marriage forthwith if he is regarded as incurable: and again the wife is disqualified from claiming this relief if she married with knowledge of her husband's condition or consented to continue the marriage relationship after the condition developed, but not by mere delay in bringing or pressing her demand (Art. 124). And the Memorandum issued by the Dār al-Fatwā to support the original Irāda attributes this reform to the views of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, although these are also substantially common to the three non-Ḥanafī schools.[17] It also points out that while some later Ḥanafīs only mention elephantiasis, leprosy and madness as justifying this relief in the doctrine of al-Shaybānī, most expressly extend the principle to cover such other diseases as would make married life injurious to the wife: while it goes on to show that certain jurists have also attributed to al-Shaybānī the distinction between curable and incurable diseases of this nature—on analogy with impotence on the one hand and complete absence of the procreative organs on the other—and the requirement of a year's[18] respite in the case of the first only.

The Egyptian legislation on this subject, in Arts 9-11 of the Law of 1920, is closely similar. It defines the diseases which give rise to this relief as "chronic *(mustaḥkim)*, incurable—or curable only after a long period of time—and such as would make married life injurious"; it restricts this relief to the wife alone; it excludes therefrom

[17] But they apply them also to the husband whose wife is so afflicted, while al-Shaybānī does not.

[18] A lunar year, as is normal in the Sharī'a: although with regard to the impotent one report from Abū Ḥanīfa, adopted by several authorities, favors a solar year, as including all the four seasons—with their possible influence on the husband's condition.

one who married with knowledge of the facts or who has given explicit or implicit consent to continue the relationship notwithstanding; and it provides for medical advice in such cases—as a substitute, presumably, for the year's respite provided in the Ottoman Law. So although the Egyptian reforms of 1920 are often attributed in toto to Mālikī origins, these particular provisions are almost indistinguishable from the views of Muḥammad al-Shaybānī.

The Law of Family Rights includes only one article regarding dissolution of marriage for failure of maintenance (Art. 126) and this—based on the Irāda Sulṭānīya of 1915—concerns itself exclusively with absent husbands. It simply states: "If a woman's husband disappears, goes away . . . and does not return or becomes missing, and his wife cannot obtain maintenance and demands separation, then the Court, after making the necessary investigations, shall give judgment accordingly." And the Memorandum issued with the original Irāda, after pointing out the terrible hardship caused to deserted wives by the rigid application of the Ḥanafī law in such cases, continues "but the two Imāms Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī, according to one report, held that where a husband went away and his wife could not obtain maintenance the Court should dissolve the marriage at the request of the wife, while the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal regarded dissolution of marriage as always allowable if a wife could not obtain maintenance because of her husband's absence". It was, in fact, the sufferings of Ottoman wives who had been married by foreign Muslims on visits to the Empire and then permanently deserted when their husbands returned home, which forced the Ottoman Government to take this first step in abandoning the accepted Ḥanafī principles of personal status for those of another school—in this case that of the Ḥanbalīs. Here, however, the Egyptian legislation (Arts. 4-6 of the Law of 1920) is both wider in its scope and ampler in its detail. Thus Art. 4 prescribes that where a wife demands divorce from a husband who fails to support her and who has no known property out of which a maintenance order can be executed, her demand is to be granted at once unless her husband can prove, or she acknowledges, that he is destitute, when he will first be given a period of grace not exceeding one month. Art. 5 provides that where the husband is absent but not very far away and has no known property out of which a maintenance order can be executed, he is to be warned that his wife will be judicially divorced unless he either sends funds or comes back to support her within a prescribed time; while if he is far away and cannot easily be contacted, is of unknown whereabouts or missing, and it is proved that he has no known property out of which a maintenance order can be executed, she is to be divorced forthwith. The terms of this article are also expressly made appli-

cable to a husband undergoing a sentence of imprisonment who is unable to support his wife: while Art. 6 prescribes that the judicial divorce pronounced in all these cases shall be revocable, and may in fact be revoked by a husband who proves, during his wife's *'idda* period, that he is now able and willing to support her.

From a comparison of the two Laws the following points emerge. Firstly, the Egyptian provisions are wider than their Ottoman counterpart in that they include the case of the husband who is present or able to be contacted, whereas the Ottoman Law deals only with the absent husband from whom maintenance is unobtainable (nor does it in any way define the circumstances in which a wife's inability to obtain maintenance will be held to be established). Secondly, if the Ottoman Law is primarily Ḥanbalī in origin the Egyptian legislation is almost pure Mālikī, the only exception being that the Mālikīs properly allow a month's grace even to a husband who cannot be contacted.[19] Thirdly, it is noteworthy that judicial dissolution of marriage under all these Arts. (119-130) in the Law of Family Rights "constitutes a final divorce" (Art. 131);[20] and this is true of the Egyptian legislation also with the solitary exception of this question of failure of maintenance, when the divorce is revocable only.[21] Fourthly, it is relevant that most Mālikī authorities make a very reasonable distinction between the standard of maintenance sufficient to rebut a claim for divorce (namely the barest necessities of life) and the standard which a husband must prove himself able to provide to justify the resumption of the marriage relationship (i.e., the ability to maintain his wife in the proper style, which is fixed by the Mālikīs as corresponding to the mean between the respective financial standings of the spouses). Now, however, that the scale of a wife's maintenance is fixed in Egypt with exclusive reference to the financial circumstances of the husband[22] this distinction has become meaningless and the provision for dissolution of marriage for failure of maintenance has virtually become applicable, like the Ottoman Law, only to the case of absent husbands; for husbands who were present or near at hand and wanted to preserve their marriages, could almost always contrive to borrow enough funds to provide some sort of maintenance and thus compel revocation of such divorce. Lastly, this is one of the respects in which the Sudan took the lead in introducing measures of reform, for provisions very similar

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[19] Contrast Art. 5.

[20] Except, of course, in the case of Art. 127—i.e., that of the husband who is "missing."

[21] c.p. Law of 1920, Art. 10; Law of 1929 Arts. 9, 13 & 14; and contrast Law of 1920, Art. 6.

[22] Law of 1920, Art. 16.

to the Egyptian legislation were introduced in that country as early as 1916, by Judicial Circular No. 17, Arts. 2-9.

Art. 127 of the Law of Family Rights treats quite a different problem, into which the question of maintenance does not enter. It reads: "If the wife of an absent husband who has left behind him property of the sort from which maintenance is provided[23] applies to the Court and demands dissolution of marriage, the Court shall make the necessary investigations concerning the said husband and, if it despairs of obtaining news of his whereabouts and of whether he is alive or dead, it shall postpone the matter for four years from the date when hope becomes extinct: then, if it cannot obtain any news within this period and the wife insists on her demand, the Court shall separate them.[24] If, on the other hand, the husband's absence is on operations of war, the Court shall give judgment of separation after a period of one year from the return of the two contending forces and their prisoners to their home countries. In both cases the wife shall observe the *'idda* of widowhood from the date of the judgment." This corresponds very closely to Art. 7 of the Egyptian Law of 1920, which reads: "If a missing man . . . has property out of which his wife can obtain maintenance she may refer her case to the Qāḍī and inform him of the place to which she believes he went and where he may still be found. It is then for the Qāḍī to report the matter to the Ministry of Justice, so that search may be made for him in all possible quarters. If, however, a period of four years passes from the time when the matter was first referred to the Qāḍī without either the husband's return or receipt of news concerning him, the Qāḍī shall instruct the wife to observe the *'idda* of widowhood for four months and ten days: then, when this is finished, she may marry another." But a further step was taken in 1929 when this article was repealed and replaced by two new articles, the first of which (Art. 21) reads: "Judgment shall be given that a missing person be considered dead, in circumstances where his death seems probable, four years after the date of his disappearance; while in all other circumstances the matter of the time after which such judgment shall be given shall be left to the discretion of the Qāḍī—after, in all cases, enquiries have been made concerning him by all possible means which might lead to knowledge of whether he is alive or dead"; while the second (Art. 22) adds: "After judgment has been given that a missing person be considered dead, in the way described in the previous article, his wife shall keep the *'idda* of widowhood and his estate shall be distributed

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[23] This limitation regarding the sort of property out of which a maintenance order can be executed is not, of course, applicable in Egypt. See Article IV, p. 192.

[24] i.e., in this case decreeing him putatively dead.

among such of his heirs as are alive at the time of the judgment."

Here, again, there are several points which demand comment. In the first place, the earliest reform of this nature was in fact introduced in the Sudan, where provisions almost identical with the Egyptian Law of 1920 were promulgated in 1916 by Judicial Circular No. 17, Arts. 10-12. Secondly, all these measures represent a major departure from the accepted Ḥanafī view previously applicable, whereby judgment was given that a missing person be considered dead only when all his contemporaries had become extinct or—in Turkey at least—ninety years after his birth (except where he became missing at a time fraught with unusual perils and dangers), whereupon both his property was to be distributed among his heirs and his wife regarded as a widow—a doctrine concerning which the Explanatory Memorandum to the Ottoman Law justly remarks: "This view is based on the need to protect marriage, but entirely disregards the rights of the wife." Thirdly, the Ottoman and first Egyptian reform represent an adoption of the Mālikī law (or, more accurately, a modified form of that law, since the full Mālikī doctrine classifies missing persons under four different categories), the only differences between them being the adoption of a dual classification in the Ottoman law as against a single one in Egypt, and the dating of the four years period from the date of extinction of hope in the one case and that of reference to the Qāḍī in the other.[25] In both, however, a clear distinction is made, in true Mālikī fashion,[26] with regard to the missing man's wife on the one hand and his property on the other, for the judgment that he be considered dead is here designed to set his wife free to remarry but not to make his estate available to his heirs. The second Egyptian reform, on the other hand, is more drastic and concerns wife and property alike: and these provisions of 1929, which resemble the Ottoman law in introducing a dual—albeit a different—classification of missing persons, rest on Ḥanbalī[27] rather than Mālikī authority. But the Explanatory Memorandum supports this innovation not only on abstract juristic grounds but by reference to the change in circumstances brought about by modern means of communication, e.g., "post, telegraph, telephone, together with the spread of Egyptian Legations and Consulates throughout the world," whereby missing persons can now be traced. Then, referring more

[25] Here it is noteworthy that the Sudanese legislation corresponds with the Ottoman, rather than the Egyptian, Law.

[26] Whereby, in spite of the provision made for the wife, the estate of someone missing in Dār al-Islām in time of no particular danger was not to be distributed until seventy years after his birth. The Law of 1920 made no reference to the estate, so the Ḥanafī rules have remained in force.

[27] To be more precise, on the dominant Ḥanbalī view with regard to the first category, and on a variant Ḥanbalī (and Ḥanafī) view with regard to the second.

particularly to the need for legislation concerning the estates of missing persons, it continues: "But investigations made it clear that the many law suits pending in the Majālis Ḥisbīya regarding the property of missing persons demanded attention and treatment . . . for in February 1927 these had reached a total of 1166." It must be remembered, however, that the wives of missing husbands can obtain judicial dissolution of marriage under both the Ottoman and Egyptian Laws in much less than four years if they are left without maintenance, or under the Egyptian Law, as we shall see, if they suffer injury from unjustified physical desertion: but these provisions regarding "missing" persons are sui generis in that the marriage in such cases ends not by divorce but by putative widowhood, as is shown inter alia by the fact that the wife must keep the *'idda* of mourning instead of that of divorce.

This last distinction, moreover, is the basis of another important difference. This is clearly expressed in the Ottoman Law in Arts. 128 and 129, which provide, on the one hand, that "If a wife whose marriage is judicially dissolved under the provisions of the foregoing articles marries another and her former husband then appears, his appearance shall not involve the annulment of the second marriage"; and, on the other, that "If a wife whose husband is judicially declared dead marries another and it then becomes clear that her first husband is still alive, the second marriage shall be dissolved": while the Explanatory Memorandum comments on this distinction by observing "seeing that a judgment contrary to sensible fact is disregarded in toto, it follows that the appearance alive of one judicially declared dead makes the judgment of death null and void." Here, however, the corresponding Egyptian legislation of 1920 (which the Law of 1929 leaves in force) introduces an interesting distinction, for it reads:[28] "If the missing person comes back, or it otherwise appears that he is alive, his wife belongs to him, unless her second husband has had intimacy with her without knowing that the former husband was still alive. If, on the other hand, the second husband had this intimacy without such knowledge, then she belongs to him, unless the second contract were concluded during her *'idda* of widowhood." This rests on the view alleged to have been adopted by Mālik one year before his death, as a refinement of his former view that the wife would belong to the second husband—on the grounds that he had married her validly as a result of a proper judicial decree —in all cases.[29] The opposite view in the Ottoman Law is supported

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[28] Art. 8.

[29] Except, of course, where remarriage had occurred during her *'idda,* which would in any case invalidate the contract.

in the Explanatory Memorandum by a variant (but quite unorthodox) Ḥanafī opinion attributed to "Shaykh al-Islām Abū Sa'ūd Effendī" and by the argument that should one judicially declared to be dead subsequently appear, all allow him to reclaim such of his property as has not been alienated or consumed by his heirs: so "the view that he may recover his property but not his wife leads to the result that part of a judgment (i.e., that of the missing man's death) which is indivisible in itself is void while part is valid, a result which is impossible either in logical reasoning or traditional authority." This result has, of course, been avoided in the Egyptian legislation of 1929; but in any case it seems eminently arguable that a wife who has been validly and innocently remarried should be equated with such of a missing man's estate as has been validly alienated by his heirs rather than that part which, being still in their hands, he is entitled to recover.

A further provision for deserted wives is, however, also available in Egypt and the Sudan. Thus Art. 12 of the Egyptian Law of 1929 prescribes that if a husband goes away from his wife for a year[30] or more without acceptable excuse she may demand from the Qāḍī a final divorce if she has suffered injury from his absence, even though property exists out of which she can obtain her maintenance. Art. 13 provides that where it is possible to contact the husband by correspondence the Qāḍī shall warn him that his wife will be divorced if he does not come back to her or send for her to join him within a specified time; and if he fails to act or show reasonable excuse during this time of grace the Qāḍī shall divorce them accordingly. If, however, he cannot be so contacted, the divorce is to be pronounced without warning or delay. And Art. 14 gives similar relief to the wife whose husband has been finally sentenced to not less than three years' imprisonment after she has suffered not less than one year's separation. The juristic basis for these rules must, clearly, be sought among either the Mālikīs or Ḥanbalīs, since they alone give relief in these circumstances; but as usual they differ on points of detail. Thus the Mālikīs insist on at least[31] one year's separation, while the Ḥanbalīs regard six months as sufficient; the Mālikīs only stipulate that the husband must be warned and granted a period of grace where this is feasibly possible, while the Ḥanbalīs insist on warning in all cases; the Mālikīs make no distinction as to why the husband stays away, while the Ḥanbalīs limit relief to cases where his absence

[30] This is expressly stated to be solar (Art. 23), according to the general tendency in recent Egyptian legislation, but contrary to the pure Sharī'a. But it is noteworthy that no such provision is made regarding the period of absence of missing persons (above).

[31] Some say three years.

is without reasonable excuse (e.g., trade, study, etc.); and the resultant dissolution is regarded by the Mālikīs as judicial divorce, while the Ḥanbalīs deem it *faskh*. It will be observed, therefore, that the Egyptian legislation, while it follows the Ḥanbalīs regarding the matter of reasonable excuse, is otherwise solidly Mālikī—although it is noteworthy that it is Ibn Taymīya rather than the classical Mālikī jurists who expressly mentions in this context the case of a husband sentenced to imprisonment,[32] while the criterion of a minimum sentence of three years represents a safeguard introduced at the discretion of the Legislature. It should also be noted that while the Egyptian Law denies relief to wives whose husbands are absent on justifiable business for however long, the corresponding provision in the Sudan—which was introduced some thirteen years earlier—[33] includes no such restriction, but insists instead that the wife must allege fear of falling into unchastity.

Finally, there is the question of the wife who is maltreated or between whom and her husband discord and incompatibility develop. This is covered by Art. 130 of the Ottoman Law, which reads: "If quarrelling and discord develop between spouses and one of them refers to the Court, the Court shall appoint an arbitrator from the family of each of the parties or, if there is none to be so appointed—or none with suitable qualifications—in the family of one or both, then it shall appoint someone suitable from outside. The family council so formed shall investigate the complaints and replies of each of the parties and do its best to reconcile them. If, however, this proves impossible, then if the fault is the husband's the Court shall divorce them, while if the fault is the wife's it shall decree dissolution *(khulʿ)* on the basis of the return of her dower or of part thereof. If, on the other hand, the arbitrators cannot agree, the Court shall appoint another Council of suitable arbitrators or shall appoint a third arbitrator unrelated to either of the parties. The judgment of the two arbitrators, moreover, shall be final and not susceptible to appeal." This provision is pure Mālikī doctrine not only in general (for most other jurists limit the competence of the arbitrators to conciliation and allow them to arrange a divorce or *khulʿ* only by express authority of the parties, while the Mālikīs, and one Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī view, alone regard the arbitrators as deriving coercive powers from the Court) but also in points of detail. It is just here, moreover, that the Egyptian legislation differs, for Art. 6 of the Law of 1929 provides that: "If a wife alleges that her husband ill-treats

[32] As distinct from a prisoner of war. But Ibn Taymīya assimilates the former to a "missing" husband, rather than an absent one.

[33] Circular No. 17 of 1916, Art. 13.

her in such a way as to make it impossible for people of their class to continue the marriage relationship, she may request the Qāḍī to separate them, whereupon the Qāḍī shall grant her a final divorce if the ill-treatment is proved and reconciliation seems impossible. If, however, he refuses her petition and she subsequently repeats her complaint but cannot prove the ill-treatment, the Qāḍī shall appoint two arbitrators and the provisions of Arts. 7-11 will apply." Arts. 7 and 8 prescribe the way in which the arbitrators are to be appointed and try to reconcile the parties in much the same terms as does the Ottoman Law, but Art. 9 describes the final alternative of dissolution of marriage in the following words: "If the arbitrators find reconciliation to be impossible and the fault to be that of the husband, of both sides, or not clearly attributable to either, they shall decree a final divorce." This departs from the Ottoman principles in two essential points: firstly, that where the wife can prove ill-treatment of a sort intolerable by one of her standing she may be granted a judicial divorce in Egypt without any reference to a family council of arbitration; secondly, that this family council, if appointed, has no authority to decree a *khul'*, or indeed a dissolution of marriage at all, where the fault is clearly that of the wife. This last point is felt by many to be a defect in the Egyptian legislation which is likely to be revised in the future; but the name of Ibn Rushd, at least, may be quoted in support, since he held that there should be no dissolution of marriage where the wife was chiefly to blame, but that her husband should be allowed suitably to punish her. It is, moreover, relevant to observe that in applying this Law the Egyptian Courts have made a marked distinction between petitioner and petitioner, on grounds of class and environment, in assessing the degree of ill-treatment necessary to justify divorce;[34] that they have accepted such sexual desertion[35] as does not come within the terms of legitimate punishment as constituting such ill-treatment; and that they have assimilated thereto any unjustifiably long delay in the husband's agreement to commence married life after the conclusion of the contract, particularly if he marries another wife and starts living with her in the meantime. But it is again noteworthy that the path of reform was actually blazed, in this respect too, in the Sudan, where the relevant provisions antedate the Law of Family Rights by one year and the Egyptian Law by thirteen years: and while Art. 14 of Circular No. 17 of 1916 conforms to the Egyptian practice of granting a judicial divorce for proved cruelty without reference to

[34] e.g., whether personal chastisement should be regarded as legitimate punishment under Sūra 4:38, or as intolerable ill-treatment.

[35] i.e. by a husband who remains in the same locality: otherwise the terms of Arts. 12-14 would apply.

arbitrators, Art. 15 corresponds with the Ottoman Law in providing for a decree of *khulʿ* where it appears that the wife is the chief offender.

This, then, is the point which the path of reform has reached today in Egypt, the Sudan, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.[36] It is obvious that great progress has been made in all these countries in granting relief to injured wives—a progress which might be considered in some points as unduly weakening the marriage bond were it not that this still in all cases rests precariously on the unfettered whim of the husband. It is in limiting this arbitary power of the male that the major difficulty presents itself to the would-be reformer and that scarcely anything has yet been done. Real progress has, however, been made in two respects. Firstly, the reformers have provided a solution for the very numerous cases where in the past a formula of divorce uttered under pressure, intoxication or misapprehension[37]—or (in Egypt and the Sudan)[38] as an idle oath or ill-considered threat—compelled the dissolution of a marriage right against the real desire of either party, or where the couple either continued the relationship with a haunting sense that they were living in sin[39] or else were forced to the disgusting expedient of the wife submitting to an intervening marriage. Secondly, most divorces are now regarded in Egypt and the Sudan as single and revocable, which represents a substantial return to one of the reforms introduced by Muḥammad himself to give the husband time to reconsider an impetuous pronouncement. But the husband who really decides to divorce his wife is still completely unfettered, and he can still deprive himself, if he so wishes, of the opportunity for reconsideration provided by his wife's *ʿidda* by uttering the divorce formula on three separate occasions, at however short intervals.

There are not wanting, however, those who would like to go further than this. Thus in 1943 and again in 1945 a draft law was mooted by the Egyptian Ministry of Social Affairs including two articles on this subject. The first of these provided that a man might not divorce his wife, nor an official register such a divorce, without the consent of the Qāḍī of the locality: if he did, the divorce, indeed, would be valid and effective, but the husband would be liable to fine, imprisonment or both. The second, moreover, prescribed that the Qāḍī should not give his consent to any such divorce until he had in-

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[36] But it should be noted that Arts. 104 & 105 of the Ottoman Law (concerning divorce in intoxication or under compulsion) are not applied in Jordan.

[37] i.e., in regard to metaphorical expressions.

[38] But no such reform has yet, as we have seen, been introduced elsewhere.

[39] Although this may still exist among all those who regard these reforms as purely administrative, rather than declaratory of the divine law.

vestigated the causes of friction and had unsuccessfully tried to reconcile the parties. This proposal, then—which has twice been shelved—was to make it a punishable offence for a husband to divorce his wife without first submitting to the arbitration of the Qāḍī and (presumably) of the family council he is entitled to appoint: but it is noteworthy that the Qāḍī could not deny the right of an insistent husband to repudiate his wife for however inadequate a reason, nor even the essential validity of a repudiation uttered in defiance of the law.

More drastic in this last respect is a proposal put forward by certain jurists that legislation should be introduced providing that any repudiation not strictly in accordance with the traditional pattern[40] (i.e., any *ṭalāq al-bid'a)* and, perhaps, uttered before two competent witnesses would be wholly invalid and ineffective—for this would mean that in most circumstances a husband who wished to divorce his wife would have to wait for some days and then pronounce the divorce at the very time when he would normally feel least inclined to do so. But the experience of the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'īs, who have always insisted on this, proves that it would provide only a very partial solution to the problem. Yet a combination of this suggestion with that of the Ministry of Social Affairs would, perhaps, provide the best safeguard that can be expected for the present—for it is exceedingly difficult for the Muslim to deny the essential validity of any divorce, however unjustified, provided it is uttered in accordance with the prescribed provisions. True, the Prophet is alleged to have said that divorce is "the most hated of permitted things in the sight of God": but this famous dictum lays as much emphasis on the legal validity of *ṭalāq* as upon its moral opprobrium. Only in Turkey, where the Sharī'a has been totally abandoned, is divorce now exclusively judicial and limited to certain specified reasons which are identical for either spouse.

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[40] e.g., in a *ṭuhr* in which (or the preceding *hayd)* no intimacy had taken place, and not—on one view—addressed to a wife already observing her *'idda,* not expressed in a conditional form, and not couched in other than the correct wording.

The Unveiling. By Grace Visher Payne. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1950. pp. 313. $3.00.

Grace Visher Payne's book, *The Unveiling,* is a novel full of beauty, romance and pathos. Readers interested in the Near East will find it also a reliable contribution toward the understanding of folk ways in Iran. It will be enjoyed and appreciated especially by readers who, like the reviewer, have lived among Muslims and visited in harims of Muslim friends. Such visitors, while realizing strongly the common sisterhood of all women "under the skin," are also aware that their own thoughts are not as the thoughts of Muslim women. It is not at all easy to escape from the limitations of one's own point of view. One would hesitate long before trying to picture the life of Muslim women to the outside world. Accordingly, it was not until after more than a quarter of a century of living as a missionary in Iran that Mrs. Payne ventured to offer her book. Through long association and close friendship she has succeeded to a remarkable degree in identifying herself with Persian women in telling the story of the girl, Esmat.

Esmat was married a few years before the beginning of the social revolution instituted by the ruler Riza Shah Pahlavi who ascended the throne of Iran in 1926. Among the decrees of the Shah was that commanding the unveiling of all women. We who were accustomed to our freedom considered the provision for unveiling a kindness to women. But to Esmat the decree gave rise to consternation and rebellion. To her the veil had always been a symbol of respectability. She loved it. To appear among men without veiling the face and figure seemed to her to imply the casting aside of all modesty and propriety. In fact it was the horror she felt at the necessity of attending a public reception with her husband after being divested of the kindly concealment of her enveloping "chuddar" that led Esmat to commit that which she afterward considered with remorse to be her great sin: the destruction of her unborn child.

As time passed, Esmat grew accustomed to new ways. She became a woman of character and ability, displaying, through the difficult years of her married life, amazing patience, forbearance and devotion to her husband. Finally we see her a widow, caring for her children and successfully managing a large rug-weaving business. But at last life becomes too hard for her. The burden of responsibility for danger to the life and health of the child weavers she employs is more than she can bear. And then, through a dream, she finds new help, with courage to carry on and a new reason for living. Now, in truth, the reader feels, the obscuring veil is being lifted from Esmat's life.

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

Hartford, Conn.

The Christian Church and Missions in Ethiopia (including Eritrea and the Somalilands). By J. Spencer Trimingham. London, World Dominion Press, 1950. pp. 74. 2/6.

Readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD are acquainted with the long series of surveys by the World Dominion Movement, especially the

two portly volumes on Arabia and the Dutch East Indies. The present slim survey, however, is well worth its price as it contains information on two important areas that are largely Muslim, namely Ethiopia and the Somalilands. As Alexander McLeish, the Survey Editor, states in the Foreword:

> The area (Ethiopia, Eritrea and the three Somalilands) here surveyed presents the problem of Africa in its intensest form. Many races and religions confront each other under African rule. Great progress is being made in solving the many difficulties. Unfortunately such contacts as this indigenous nationalism has had with European powers have not been too happy and this largely determines today the policy and relationships of the Government with the outside world.
>
> Yet religious liberty is a fact. More freedom of propaganda is given by an African ruler to Christian Missions in Ethiopia than is given in British Somaliland.

When we turn to the Table of Contents we find that the author has condensed an exceeding amount of information in four short chapters. The first deals with Ethiopia and has a map of its religions which is illuminating. The number of Muslims in Ethiopia is very considerable. The Emperor once said that Ethiopia is an island of Christians in a sea of Muslims.

> In the north all the indigenous tribes of the low-lying districts of Eritrea and the Red Sea coast are Muslim. They comprise the negroid Baria, the large nomadic tribes of the Bani 'Amir and the Bait Asgedé (Hababb, Ad Takles and Ad Tamaryam); two-thirds of the Bilen; the Mensa, Marya and most of the Saho tribes; that is, all except the pagan and Christian Kunama, a minority of the Bilen and the sedentary Monophysite Christians of the plateau, which of course is the most thickly populated part of Eritrea.

The author gives the background of the recent political and social changes caused by the Second World War and the peace treaties. He speaks favorably of the present Government, but perhaps the most interesting chapter is that on missions in Ethiopia. It is certainly surprising to learn that there are no less than twelve Protestant missions, with over 230 missionaries at work in the present area.

Work is permitted among the Muslim tribes but the Somalilands are practically closed to missionary effort by the action of the British Government, which is severely criticized by the author. The Somali group constitutes a geographical and ethnological unit, but politically they are divided and there is tribal friction.

The conclusion of the author is that both fields offer a real opportunity for present-day evangelism.

S. M. Zwemer

New York City

The World's Religions. Edited by J. N. D. Anderson. London, Intervarsity Fellowship, 1950. pp. 208. 7sh. 6d.

Compendiums on religions, whether dead or living, seem to be the fashion of the day. This most recent volume contains seven papers on Animism, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism, with a Foreword, an Epilogue and a Bibliography. The present reviewer found the papers on Shinto and Confucianism, where his knowledge of the original sources is nil, the most satisfactory, and the others less and less satisfactory in proportion as his acquaintance with the original texts and the literature grew more detailed. The paper on Islam, which is by the Editor of the book,

will be of most interest to readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD, and is very much longer than any of the others. Each paper is by a person who has had personal contact with people practising the religion about which he writes, and the most valuable thing in the book is the observations which are made on the living values of these religions as revealed by personal contact, for in no case, so far as the present reviewer can judge, do the various writers have any close acquaintance with the modern literature on the religions about which they write. The Epilogue is apparently by the Editor and sets forth the essential claims of Christianity as against these other world faiths.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

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New York City

India, Pakistan, Ceylon. Edited by W. Norman Brown. Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1951. pp. x, 234.

The reviewer of this book is often asked for a single volume which will be a compendium of information concerning India and Pakistan. Such a volume, containing the information desired, has really yet to be written. The book under review, however, goes a long way towards satisfying such a need.

It is inevitable that a book of so small compass could do no more than summarize the various aspects of the history and culture of the areas now politically known as India, Pakistan and Ceylon. The summary treatment seemed a bit disappointing until it was realized that these are articles reprinted from the *Encyclopedia Americana*. Dr. Brown states the purpose of this book to be the sketching in of the background of the momentous political changes which have occurred in these areas. "It is, still more, to describe the wider context of civilization in the area where these three newly liberated nations now exist. The book deals with geography and material resources, and the use that man has made of them in developing the arts of civilization. It restates, in brief form, what we know of prehistory and of recorded history. It describes achievements in thought, literature, the arts. It characterizes social structure, economic life, and law." The separate chapters "promote no ideology"; within the limitations of available space they "aim to present the pertinent facts." The content of these chapters has been a very successful application of this criterion of selection.

One could wish that it were possible to have the present authors expand this material. There do appear, however, at the end of each section, excellent bibliographies, through the use of which the reader may himself continue study.

This reviewer was particularly impressed with the four chapters devoted to history. The approach to the present governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon is made extremely clear by the authors. Of great value to the lay reader is the summary of the Constitution of the Republic of India and the problems with which Pakistan is grappling in the formation of her Constitution.

The geographical facts of the book are handled by William F. Christians; the economic by Daniel Thorner; Anthropology and Sociology by Marian W. Smith; Languages and Literature by Murray B. Emeneau; the Fine Arts, Religion and Philosophy as well as Archaeology by W. Norman Brown; and History by Walter E. Clark,

Holden Furber, and G. P. Malalasekera. The authority of these authors in their fields is unquestioned. There is an amazing fund of objective information here in the least possible space. This is both an asset and a liability. A full index of persons and places makes reference easy.

MALCOLM PITT

Hartford Seminary Foundation,
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Ancient West Arabian. By Chaim Rabin. London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951. pp. xiv, 226. Price, 30 sh.

Many readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD will remember hearing of the commotion at Algiers in 1905 when the Muslim delegates to the International Congress of Orientalists meeting in that city loudly and violently objected to the paper read by Karl Vollers in which he suggested that the text of the Qur'ān as we have it is not the text as it left the lips of Muḥammad, who would have uttered the words in his own Ḥijāzī dialect, but a text produced by the working over of that material at the hands of the later grammarians. Vollers published his book *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* in 1906, and his theories were discussed at some length by Rudolf Geyer in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1909, and by Th. Nöldeke in 1910 in a chapter "Zur Sprache des Korans" in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,* but created little further interest till attention was again called to them by Paul Kahle in his Schweich Lectures (London, 1947). The defects of Vollers' treatment of the material were obvious enough, but Kahle, in discussing a passage by the great philologer al-Farrā', in a Ms. in the Chester Beatty Collection, brings up again the question whether our present text of the Qur'ān is not the result of a systematic working over to adapt it to the "classical" language of the bedouin poetry.

But what was this "classical" language? What do we really know about the spoken dialects of early Arabia? And what is the meaning of that well-known story how, when the first copies of 'Uthmān's official recension of the Qur'ān were brought to him, he noticed mistakes in them, but said: "Do not alter them, for the Arabs will correct them with their tongues. Had the scribe been of Thaqīf and the one who dictated of Hudhail these forms would not have been found in them"? Dr. Rabin's book is a first attempt to assemble and discuss in a systematic way all the scattered evidence available to us concerning a group of these early dialects.

There were dialectal forms of spoken Arabic in Muḥammad's day just as the Arabic spoken in the peninsula today has its various dialects. One can still hear Arabs tell how one of the claims of "Lawrence of the Arabs" to fame was that he could recognize from a man's speech the area of Arabia from which he came. There was an ancient tradition among the philologers that there was a fundamental dialect cleavage in North Arabia between and eastern and a western group, what they called the Ḥijāzī group and the Tamīm group. Recent studies have confirmed this idea. Not only was South Arabian different from North Arabian, but in North Arabian there was an Eastern and a Western group, and the "classical" language used by the poets was essentially a dialect of the Eastern group, though it became mixed as it developed with Western forms. Rabin thinks that its

basis was one of the Najd dialects, and as used by the Ḥijāzī poets became the literary language in use in Mecca, though the spoken dialect of Mecca belonged to the Western group. The language in which the Qur'ān was recorded was this literary language, but in the mouth of the Prophet it was inevitably affected by the colloquial speech of his milieu. Also, as various Arab groups recited it, the recitation would be influenced by their local dialects. This is one reason why we have so rich a crop of variant readings recorded for the pointing of an unpointed consonantal text. Where the text presented *n'bd* the folk of Qais would naturally tend to read *ni'bud,* for their dialect used the *i* vowel in the first syllable of the imperfect where we use an *a*.

Dr. Rabin thinks that the ancient West Arabian was perhaps as distinct from what became "classical" Arabic as it was from South Arabian, and he is able to point to numerous agreements that it has with South Arabian on the one hand and with Canaanite on the other. He also suggests that further knowledge may show that one or more of the North Arabian languages known to us from fragmentary inscriptional evidence in the pre-Islamic period, may turn out to belong to this West Arabian group. He has combed the literature for what the antiquarians, exegetes, grammarians and philologers have to say about the dialects belonging to this W. Arabian group, viz. those of Yemen, Ḥimyar, Azd, Northern Yemen, Hudhail, Ḥijāz and Ṭayyi', and has set it forth, along with eighteen maps illustrating the probable diffusion of various dialect phenomena. Much of the evidence is painfully obscure and uncertain, and not infrequently contradictory, but this is a very able attempt to bring some order out of the chaos.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Arabic Grammar: Inductive Method. By E. E. Elder. Cairo, American University at Cairo, School of Oriental Studies, 1950. pp. xviii, 351 (Second Edition).

When this book first appeared in 1937 it was well received and represented one of the first grammars to apply the inductive approach to the study of classical Arabic. A review of this first edition by Dr. S. M. Zwemer can be found in Vol. XXVIII of THE MOSLEM WORLD for April, 1938, page 190.

In preparing a second edition of this Arabic Grammar the author made use of suggestions from the teachers and students of the School of Oriental Studies as well as others who have had occasion to use it. The lessons have not been substantially changed, but some additions and corrections have been made to increase the usefulness of the book. A brief index of grammatical terms (in Arabic) has been included to aid in locating the lessons where the principal treatment of any subject may be found. The printing of the first edition has been improved and the present volume is quite acceptable in this respect. Some of the lessons are a bit lengthy, but for the most part it was thought wiser to treat a detailed subject as a unit rather than to make arbitrary divisions for the sake of shorter lessons.

Certain features of this grammar are designed to put the emphasis on learning Arabic from connected speech as a living language. Most of the lessons have sentences which are to be memorized so that they can be recited with the speed of normal speech. Memory sentences dealing with verbs take the place of verb paradigms. In order to en-

courage the student to advance to the point of recognizing whole words and phrases, the grammatical terms are not vowelled more than a few times and some of the particles and words in the text are given without vowels after they have occurred a number of times. It was not considered necessary to include a complete vocabulary since the student is expected to begin learning the use of Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionaries after Lesson XX. Blank pages are provided in each lesson for notes and new words. Anyone seeking to learn Arabic would do well to take note of this Second Edition of Elder's *Arabic Grammar.*

DAVID T. LINDELL

Hartford, Conn.

Woordenboek Bahasa Indonesia—Nederlands. By H. D. Van Pernis. J. B. Wolters. f6.50.
Indonesisch—Nederlands Woordenboek. By W. J. S. Poerwadarminta and Dr. A. Teeuw. J. B. Wolters. f7.50.
Bahasa Indonesia, The National Language of Indonesia. A Course for English-Speaking Students. By E. Pino. J. B. Wolters. f4.50.

This is a new language, based upon Malay, which has, for centuries, been the lingua franca of the Indonesian Archipelago.

The Malay language functioned well in this capacity, for foreign words were easily incorporated. This tendency to enrich the language by borrowing was evident everywhere, but was most apparent in the newspapers of the archipelago. The movement towards a more adequate language was accelerated by the nationalistic movement, which, for more than twenty years, has been striving not only in the direction of one nation, one people, but also, one language, intelligible to all the seventy-five million inhabitants of this archipelago, where there are more than two hundred spoken languages.

During the Japanese regime (1942-1945), the use of the Dutch language was prohibited in Indonesia. Even words derived from the Dutch were discarded. It thus became imperative to find new ways of expressing ideas. This was done by borrowing words from various languages used in different parts of the archipelago, as well as from the Arabic and Sanskrit languages. Not only have new words come into use, the syntax of the language has also undergone a change. This became necessary to express ideas that possessed no reality for Indonesia until she became "world minded." We thus have a new language. The Malay used before the war, is inadequate for the needs of modern Indonesia.

Bahasa Indonesia is a language that is growing. New expressions appear almost daily. Yet it is very necessary for one who associates with Indonesians to know those that have come into more or less common use. That is the purpose of the two dictionaries we are reviewing. Their authors do not claim to have produced something final. They look upon their work as a beginning of an adequate understanding of Bahasa Indonesia. Both Dr. Van Pernis and Dr. Teeuw are specialists in the field of Indonesian languages. Mr. Poerwadarminta is a lexicographer by profession. We are therefore assured that the work has been done by men who are experts in this field.

Why an Indonesian-Dutch dictionary when the Dutch language is daily becoming more unpopular, when the number of Dutch sub-

jects in the archipelago is growing small? When the work on these dictionaries was begun, it was hoped that some form of cooperation between the Netherlands and Indonesia in the United States of Indonesia would be possible. That hope disappeared early last year. But if the new language is to be systemized, that work will have to be done by scholars from the Netherlands. Only they have the foundation and understanding for such a task. Furthermore, many Indonesians have received their education in the Dutch language, so that it can be a means for them to understand their mother tongue better.

Now a word concerning the two dictionaries. That they fill a great need, all will agree. In both cases the work has been very well done. Many of the words found here have never before found their place in a dictionary of an Indonesian language.

Dr. Van Pernis has taken great pains to explain the formation of compound words and has arranged these alphabetically in his dictionary. Dr. Teeuw and his colleague have assumed some knowledge of grammar on the part of their readers, and deal primarily with root words. They have, correctly it seems to me, arranged the derivatives under the root words; thus making relationships between words clearer. Dr. Van Pernis has less words in his dictionary than the other men have in theirs.

I feel that both dictionaries give too much space to words taken over from the Dutch language. These are rapidly disappearing from the Indonesian language. The few that remain will require no explanation for those who know Dutch.

Finally a word of praise for the work of Mr. Pino, who has made a very successful attempt to introduce English-speaking readers to "Bahasa Indonesia." This is not a book for the tourist, who desires a few expressions that will enable him to "get by." Mr. Pino has written for those who desire to *learn* this new language.

This book is not a grammar. Detailed explanations are avoided wherever possible. Since the war Indonesians have been trying hard to establish relations with English-speaking countries. It is quite probable, therefore, that many with a British or an American ancestry will find this book invaluable as they begin to establish contacts in Indonesia.

A. V. Klaus

Washington, Pa.

Le Coran. Traduction selon un essai de reclassement des sourates. By Régis Blachère. Paris, 1949. pp. XIII, 530.

After the preliminary volume containing the *Introduction au Coran,* Professor Blachère now offers to scholars a new translation of the sacred book of the Muslims. The title partly indicates one of the main features of the work; in the *Avertissement* the author explains that *dans l'ensemble* he follows the order of the sūras proposed by Nöldeke and Schwally. In his interpretations he frequently adopts those which may appear unusual, but in all such cases he quotes his authorities and variants, among others Jeffery and Bell. From this point of view his astonishingly vast labors will be of great advantage to those who work in this field. The sūra of the Cave especially has been carefully examined by Professor Louis Massignon who has de-

voted much detailed study to it in his courses at the Collège de France.

The text upon which the work is based is the Cairo edition of 1342H. A.D., 1923 but the numbering of the verses of the Fluegel edition has also been mentioned. Each sūra is preceded by bibliography, and is followed by copious footnotes.

Scholars will be thankful to Professor Blachère for having enriched their libraries by this remarkable achievement, even though they may not share all of the author's views.

A. R. Nykl

Cambridge, Mass.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. redigit L. Ligeti. Tomus I, Fasciculus i. Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, pp. 215. Price, 42 forint.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences had a notable history under the old regime. It is now "reborn" under the Hungarian People's Republic, and this is the first number of its *Journal* under its new control. It is a significant sign of the cultural orientation of the new regime that not only does it contain two articles in Russian, but there is a summary in Russian at the end of each article, and Russian is the first of the four languages in which its Introduction introduces it to the public of learning. This number is excellently printed and illustrated, so that if the contributions continue to maintain the standard set here it promises to be an Orientalist journal of some importance.

There are eleven articles in this number, six of which present some interest to readers of our Quarterly. The whole number is dedicated to the memory of the great Hungarian Islamic scholar Ignaz Goldziher, whose portrait appears at the opening page. Goldziher was born in 1850 so that 1950 marks the centenary of his birth, and both the first article (in German) and the last article (in Russian) deal with his life and work, that by Németh, giving an account of his youthful days, being of particular interest. K. Czeglédy has a long article, with a folding map, on al-Khwārizmī's mapping of the Danubian lands, and L. Fekete an equally long article, with eight folding plates of text, on a Persian Ms. account of the Georgian area in the Caucasus in the XVIth century. J. Németh, who in the *Goldziher Memorial Volume* had given an account, taken down from the lips of an elderly woman of Vidin, of the Tehvit ceremony (the forty days of mourning for the dead) in that area, here gives an account, from the same source, of the Mevlud, or Prophet's Birthday celebration as practised there. Finally there is a very short article in which Rintchen presents the suggestion that the name *Burqan qaldun* so commonly found as the name of the sacred mountain of the tribes of Central Asia, really means "the mount of the sacred willow," so that it is to be linked up with the very ancient idea of the Cosmic Tree, which in other areas also has become a sacred mountain.

The other articles on Biblical, Old Egyptian, Avestan, and East Asiatic subjects are of less interest to our readers.

A. Jeffery

Mystique naturelle et mystique surnaturelle en Islam. Par Louis Gardet. (Extrait de *Recherches de science religieuse,* XXXVII, pp. 321-365).
Quelques textes Sufis concernant l' "extase." Par Louis Gardet. (Extrait de la *Revue Thomiste,* 1950. No. 1, pp. 172-179).

In devoting a whole volume in 1922 to the *Lexique technique de la mystique musulmane,* Louis Massignon emphasized the importance for any study of Sufism of close attention to the technical vocabulary that is used by the writers to describe the spiritual states, the spiritual experiences, and the special techniques connected with the Ṣūfī way of life. That problem has only become more acute as over the years more and more material from Ṣūfī sources has come into our hands. These two papers by Louis Gardet are essentially a contribution to our understanding of Ṣūfī terminology, the former being concerned with the terms *tafrīd, infirād* and *ifrād,* the latter with the term *wajd.*

It is easy to use terminology from Christian mysticism to translate the technical terms used by the Ṣūfīs, yet there is danger in this, for all too frequently the concordance is but partial. *Wajd* is a good example. It is commonly rendered by "ecstasy," but in Ṣūfī texts *wajd* is used in more than one sense, and there is a clear understanding in some Ṣūfī writers that *wajd* is but the precursor of a fuller experience. The fundamental distinction M. Gardet is anxious to make is that between a "natural" mysticism in which the soul by its own effort can practise *tajrīd* and *tafrīd,* denuding itself of all things that distract, isolating itself from all that is around it, so as to make its way back, as it were, to an experience of its ultimate ground in the Absolute, and a "supernatural" mysticism, where the experience is not the result of any effort of the soul as such, but is given as a pure act of grace by God. Indian mysticism of the Yoga type is a good example of the former, and in Christian mysticism we find many an example of the latter. Sufism is not lacking in contact with this second type, but commonly its mystical theology and its praxis are in terms of the former, though this is often disguised by the terminology employed.

Though brief, these two studies are of no little importance, and so are noted here to bring them to the attention of the not inconsiderable number of our readers who are interested in Sufism. It is perhaps worthy of note that M. Gardet, while not absolutely excluding the possibility of Indian influence on Ṣūfī thought, judges that such influence was not of great importance. In particular he agrees with those who dispute the equation of *fanā'* with the Indian *Nirvana.*

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Alfarabi, la statistique des Sciences: texte établi, annoté et présenté par Osman Amine. Le Caire, Dar el-Fikr el-Arabi, 1949. pp. 141.

Save for the French title on the cover this work is in Arabic. It is an edition, with Introduction and some notes, of the famous *Iḥṣā' al-'Ulūm* of al-Fārābī, the tenth century Arabian philosopher. This "Catalogue of the Sciences" was known to the Middle Ages under the name *De Scientiis,* having been more than once translated into Latin, and apparently also into Hebrew. A complete Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona has survived, as well as a partial translation by Dominicus Gundisalvi, who also translated his *De ortu scientiarum.* The Arabic text of the *Iḥṣā',* however, was thought to be

lost until four Mss. of it have turned up in our generation. One Ms. was discovered in Najaf and published in Sidon in 1921 by the Shaikh Muḥammad Riḍā ash-Shabībī in Vol. IV of the periodical *al-'Irfān*. Ten years later, with no knowledge of the earlier edition, Osman Amine published at Cairo a text based on a photograph available at the Egyptian Royal Library. A third Ms. exists in the Escorial, and in 1932 this was published at Madrid by Angel Gonzalez Palencia, along with the two above-mentioned Latin versions, and his own translation of the Arabic text into Spanish. A fourth Ms. is in the Koprulu Library at Stambul. The present edition is a first attempt at a critical edition, being based on the editions of the three Mss. of Cairo, Najaf and Madrid, fragmentary information about the Stambul Ms., the evidence of the Latin versions, and the material from the *Iḥṣā'* quoted by Ibn Ṭolmūs in Miguel Asin's edition of his *al-Madkhal*.

The Introduction of forty pages, besides telling what led up to the present edition of the text, summarizes the contents of the *Iḥṣā'*, discusses the purpose of al-Fārābī in constructing it, traces its influence on Islamic and on Western thought and the question whether it is really by al-Fārābī, and then gives a summary account of al-Fārābī's general philosophic doctrine. The edition of the text is followed by twenty-five pages of notes. It is an interesting attempt at a critical edition, which makes it the greater pity that it is so disfigured by misprints, particularly in the words and phrases quoted from the Latin.

Readers of our QUARTERLY may perhaps be interested in what al-Fārābī in his *Catalogue* conceives the range and disposition of the "sciences" to be. Being one of the Arabian Aristotelians, in fact familiarly known as "the second Master," Aristotle himself being the first Master, he clearly and unequivocally places himself in the Aristotelian succession, so that his enumeration of the "sciences" which are the objects of study represents the Oriental Aristotelian tradition, and has a special interest for that very reason. He divides the Sciences into five groups—

I. the linguistic sciences—grammar, reading, writing, composition, poetry. These come first since all knowledge has to be reached by way of language.
II. the logical sciences—i.e., the *Organon* of Aristotle in its traditional eight parts. Logic comes next to language for reasoning must be logical if it is to lead to true knowledge.
III. the mathematical sciences—arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, music, weights and measures, mechanics.
IV. the physical sciences and metaphysics.
Physics includes physics proper, things celestial and terrestrial, generation and corruption, meteorology, mineralogy, botany, zoology and psychology. Metaphysics, of course, is that which *comes after* physics and covers three branches of study—
(1) that which studies beings as such.
(2) that which studies the principles at the basis of the particular sciences.
(3) that which studies beings which are neither bodies nor in bodies.
V. the political sciences—politics, jurisprudence, *kalām*.

It will be noticed at once that this is Aristotelianism with a

Neoplatonic tinge, and also how this scheme stands at the basis of similar and more elaborate schemes found in the epistles of the Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā, in Khwarizmī, Ghazzālī and Ibn Khaldūn. It might be a useful service if someone would translate this interesting tractate into English.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Der Islam in der neuen Turkei; eine rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Von Gotthard Jäschke. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1951. pp. 174. Price, 25 guilders.

Many readers of our Quarterly will remember the older Journal of Islamic studies entitled *Die Welt des Islams,* associated from 1913 onwards with the names of Martin Hartmann and Geo. Kampffmeyer, a Journal which specialized on modern Islam and which met a definite need till it had to cease publication in 1944 because of unpropitious conditions in Germany. The present volume is Nos. 1 and 2 of Vol. I of a revived (N.S.) *Die Welt des Islams,* described as an "International Journal for the historical Development of contemporary Islam," being issued by the well-known publishing house of Brill at Leiden.

The new series opens most auspiciously with Gotthard Jäschke's study of the state of Islam as a religion in modern Turkey. In 1943 he published at Leipzig an exceedingly useful "Geschichtskalender", *Die Türkei in den Jahren 1935-1941,* and now approaches the problem of the effects of that history on the inner life of the Turkish people. What has happened to Islam in present day Turkey is a question that is often asked but which it is difficult to answer. It is generally known that Islam was "disestablished" in Turkey by Mustafa Kemal, and had been very definitely Turkicized, prayers being repeated in Turkish instead of in Arabic, and the Qur'ān read in Turkish translation. It was common knowledge that the Arabic script had been discarded in favor of a Latinized script (one could even purchase the Arabic Qur'ān transliterated into this new script), that the Dervish Orders had been outlawed, peculiarities of dress and custom that had, or were thought to have, religious significance were abolished, and the legal and educational systems of the country secularized and modernized. One also heard rumors of a certain revival of orthodox Islam after the death of Mustafa Kemal. But what was the actual situation in present day Turkey?

The present volume, based on Turkish books and periodicals, on official Government publications, and on accounts of modern observers, provides a great deal of material in answer to that question, particularly with regard to the *Sharī'a,* that all-embracing system of rules of conduct so characteristic of Islam. After a brief introduction which discusses the rise of modernism in the work of Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani and its development in India, Egypt and Turkey, the study takes up in succession the modernizing reforms of Mustafa Kemal, the Turkicization of the cult practices both in formal and in popular forms, the changes in official administration of religious matters such as waqfs, mosques, status of *qaḍis* and *muftis,* etc., the radical educational reforms, with particular reference to the teaching of religion, and finally the great matter of secularization, with its attempted removal of large areas of daily life from the control of religion.

It is a factual account, particularly useful for its references to sources and its quotations from modern Turkish writers, both the more radical and the less radical modernists. Of special interest to readers of THE MUSLIM WORLD is the wealth of detailed information given in Chapter V on the textbooks and courses for religious instruction, which reveal in a striking manner how far present day teaching on Islam is from the old orthodox procedures. As a conclusion the author quotes a number of statements from modern observers, both Westerners and native Turks, on the significance of these modern reforms, but himself refrains from prophesying what the future may be. He is interested, however, in showing that the most recent history reveals that while Islam has been officially disestablished and has many forces working against it, it is still a religious force that is far from spent and has its roots deep in the lives of the common people.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Islam in the Modern World. Addresses at the Fifth Annual Conference on Middle East Affairs. Washington, Middle East Institute, 1951. pp. 76. $1.00.

Persons attending the two-day Conference last March had a rich treat. They heard eight experts, including some teachers, speak on extremely important and timely subjects. Every member of the Conference surely wanted the addresses published to recall and restudy the facts and opinions presented by the speakers.

The mere listing of names indicates the quality of the addresses: Prof. P. K. Hitti of Princeton University, Dr. Bayard Dodge, former President of the American University of Beirut; Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, of McGill University; Mohammad Hassan el-Zayyat, of the Royal Egyptian Embassy at Washington; Dr. John Kingsley Birge, of Istanbul; Prof. W. Y. Elliott, of Harvard; Dr. W. W. Cleland and Dr. P. W. Ireland, both of the Department of State.

All spoke on topics of vital concern to Muslims and world-minded Americans, expressing convictions based upon their varied study and experience. At times appraisals and opinions differed, but there was full agreement about the urgent need for sympathetic understanding and friendly co-operation between America and the Middle East.

In the nature of the case it was taken for granted that the Conference membership had enough background knowledge of the geography, history and culture of the peoples of Islamdom to want something beyond introductory instruction. The speakers could assume acquaintance with all but most recent events and could present their own interpretations and conclusions.

This book will have value far beyond its price for new students to read at the end of their academic courses on Islam, while those seeking guidance in dealing with pressing difficulties will recognize much that will be helpful in choosing procedures leading to mutually acceptable solutions of common problems.

The Middle East Institute has rendered praiseworthy cultural and public service in conducting this Conference and in publishing the addresses presented there.

E. E. C.

I Married An Arab. By Mary Winifred Bushakra. New York, The John Day Company, 1951. pp. 239 and 5 illustrations. $3.00.

Although this book may be regarded as a source of information about the customs and religious practices of the Druse people of Lebanon it seems to this reviewer to be pre-eminently the story of a marriage which did not fail in spite of the widely divergent backgrounds and traditions of husband and wife. The author, Mary Winifred Bushakra, a Pennsylvania Quaker, met her future husband, Fouad, an Arab-American from Lebanon and of Druse parentage, when they were fellow students at the University of Seville. The first twelve years of their married life were spent in New York. When Fouad fell heir to olive and orange groves on the mountain slopes of Lebanon he hesitated to take his wife to what might be, for her, a difficult environment. It was Mary herself, in quest of adventure and the leisurely life she pictured in the Near East who wanted most to go.

During her first three weeks in Lebanon Mary lost thirteen pounds. Twenty-five hundred relatives and friends called to welcome the new-comers. Responding to their friendliness, in spite of exhaustion, Mary made a pledge to adapt herself to their Arab ways. "But," she writes in retrospect, "how very weak is human flesh!"

By dint of hard work Fouad and Mary built and furnished an American home which they called "Eagle's Eyrie," at the top of a barren looking mountain 4,000 feet above the sea. Here they dispensed unlimited Arab hospitality while Fouad strove against tremendous obstacles to create and operate a modern farm. Little Leilah, the child of Fouad's daughter by a boyhood marriage, came to live with her grandfather and Mary. Celebrating Christmas with tree and Christmas story came to be as natural for her as reading "Alice in Wonderland." And then, in 1941, when Australian troops mistook Eagle's Eyrie for an arsenal of the Vichy French the little family barely escaped with their lives.

For Mary, all other difficulties paled beside her experiences while Fouad was absent in America on a business trip. Fourteen-year-old Leilah had rebelled against entering into a loveless marriage with a man of her parents' choosing. In the ensuing family quarrel among the warlike Druses Mary was far beyond her depth. "Rescue me before I drown, your granddaughter with me," she appealed by letter to Fouad.

The book ends with Leilah finally engaged to a man of her own choice. At this point Mary and Fouad could have given up their project of wresting a living from the rocky soil of their mountain home. But they chose to stay, confident of "courage to face life and love to sweeten it."

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

CURRENT TOPIC

A Bible Colporteur in Turkey

"What are a young man's feelings as he sets out alone on his first colportage trip? Were it not for his trust in God, he would feel himself to be in a tough spot. Obviously, the place to begin work is—with the folk in your compartment of the train, thought Colporteur Yakub, who was thus setting forth on his first long-distance trip. He had some encouraging sales until the conductor threatened him with eviction if he did not return to his seat and "stop peddling those books."

"After working for some days in the city of Adana, he went on to Tarsus, the city of Paul. In the course of the meetings he held, several people confessed to a change of life, of whom one was a Protestant who had been to college. Yakub felt that through neglect and ignorance the small Christian community in this town is gradually moving towards the acceptance of Islam. At the next town also, Merain, he found Christianity in the same pathetic state. He was told by a former evangelist that it would be impossible to sell Scriptures there; but he had some success, in spite of much discouragement.

"Ill and weary Yakub finished out his month and returned after visiting six towns in which there had been no colportage for over a generation. He had distributed over 1,700 copies, a very good beginning.

"Yakub's second journey was to the western provinces. He spent two days at a village which had been Christian until about fifteen years ago. Having lost all contact with the Church, these people had decided to improve their standing in the community by converting to Islam. At first they were very suspicious of Yakub, but some of them joined him on the flat roof of his house, which is the regular meeting place on hot summer evenings. Here he sang hymns, explained the Scriptures and prayed. Gradually the people began to respond with exclamations and questions and accepted some of his Scriptures. His total distribution during these three months amounted to 776 copies, which is a sufficient indication of the difficulties with which he was surrounded.

"The experiences of Yakub, though from one aspect discouraging, are from another a hopeful indication for the advance of Scripture distribution in Turkey in the coming years. Until the spring of 1950 the Populist Party had been in power since 1923. The fact that this strongly entrenched party could, as it was in the recent election, be turned out of office by votes alone, without force, was an encouragement to Turkey's friends everywhere. The new government is seeking to reduce the controls and monopolistic tendencies which, under the former régime, had such a paralyzing effect on all enterprise. The total distribution by the American Bible Society in Turkey for 1950 was 8,302 Bibles, Testaments and Portions, which is more than twice what it was two years ago."

F. Lyman MacCallum in *Bible Society Record* for April 1951.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary

I. GENERAL

Home to the Holy Land. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. December, 1950. pp. 707-747).

Describes and illustrates a trip to Arab Palestine and Israel.

Neue Materialien zum Zacal, I. Ibn Quzmān. W. Hoernerbach and H. Ritter. (In *Oriens,* Leiden. 1950. pp. 266-315).

Gives a short account of the development of non-classic Arabic poetry and translates fifty poems by Quzmān of Cordova, who died A.H. 555.

Notizie Bibliografiche su Tāhā Husein Bey. Maria Nallino. (In *Oriente Moderno,* Roma. 1950. pp. 81-83).

Gives a biographical sketch and an annotated list of this great Egyptian writer's works.

Three Arabic Poets of the Early Abbasid Age. G. E. Von Grunebaum. (In *Orientalia,* Roma. 1950. pp. 53-80).

Tells of the lives and works of the poets with quotations.

We Took the High Road in Afghanistan. Jean and Franc Shor. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. November, 1950. pp. 673-706).

Finely illustrated account of traversing the Wakhan Corridor, ancient caravan route of Marco Polo's day.

II. ARABIA

Desert Borderlands of Oman. Wilfred Thesiger. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. December, 1950. pp. 137-171).

A detailed description of journeyings made in 1948-49, accompanied by copious notes, much information on the Ghafari and Hanawi Arab tribes and followed, in the March, 1951, issue of the *Journal,* by a large folded map covering Mr. Thesiger's traverses from 1945 to 1950.

Dutch Travellers in Arabia in the Seventeenth Century. C. F. Beckingham. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1951. pp. 64-81).

Quotes from Pieter van der Broecke's chatty record of his visit in 1649.

Marine Industries of Eastern Arabia. R. LeB. Bowen, Jr. (In *The Geographical Review,* New York. July, 1951. pp. 384-400).

The article not only describes fishing, rock mining and pearling in detail, but also tells of the economic problems of the workers in these fields.

Modern Education in Saudi Arabia. George T. Trial and Bayly Winder. (In the *History of Education Journal,* Ann Arbor, Michigan. 1950. pp. 121-133).

Though the Government realizes the need for trained nationals, there is considerable reluctance to widening the scope of education as may be seen from an allotment of only 3.2% for education in 1948.

Motor Tracks and Sabaean Inscriptions in Najd. H. St. J. Philby (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. December, 1950. pp. 211-215).

Describes historical records of the 5th and 6th centuries made on a basalt cliff near Wadi Masil.

Recent Agricultural Developments in Saudi Arabia. Douglas D. Crary. (In *The Geographical Review,* New York. July, 1951. pp. 366-383).

With income from petroleum at hand of about ninety millions a year, the Government is trying to improve living conditions and much progress has been made in farming with its background of irrigation.

Sand Formations in Southern Arabia. Brigadier R. A. Bagnold. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. March, 1951. pp. 78-85).

Observations made in Rub' al Khali, with a map illustrating prevailing wind action.

Will the Yemen Be Opened to Commerce? (In *Gt. Britain and the East,* London. January, 1951. p. 24).

Shows how the Iman's fear of new ideas for his people will no doubt prevent trade expansion for the present.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Arnold Toynbee's Conception of the Future of Islam. Gotthold Weil. (In *Middle East Affairs,* New York. January, 1951. pp. 3-17).

Toynbee believes that Islam is no longer creative and therefore will not play a leading role in world affairs.

Developments of the Quarter: Comment and Chronology. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1951. pp. 197-214).

Covers December 1, 1950 through February 28, 1951.

From Particularism to Unity: Race, Nationality and Minorities in the Early Islamic Empire. Ilse Lichtenstadter. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. October, 1949. pp. 251-280).

Cites Arab sources and discusses tribal institutions, the development of the community idea and the treatment of non-Muslims in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.

Die Lage der Muslime in Russland seit 1942. Bertold Spuler. (In *Islam,* Berlin. 1950. pp. 296-300).

Anti-religious pressures were renewed in 1947.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Ibn Abi'l-Dunyā on Penitence. *A. J. Arberry.* (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1951. pp. 48-63).

Discusses the *Kitāb al-Tauba* in the Chester Beatty collection, one of the minor works of the celebrated writer who died in 894.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

The Agrarian Reform Problem in Iran. Gideon Hadary. (In

The Middle East Journal, Washington, D. C. Spring, 1951. pp. 181-196).

With the improved economic and social conditions in urban life, the rural areas are challenged to greater efforts for the betterment of the peasants.

Constitutional Development in Syria. Majid Khadduri. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1951. pp. 137-160).

Examines conditions since 1918 and emphasizes the Constitution of 1950.

The Middle East Economy in 1950. Alfred Michaelis. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. pp. 223-238).

Gives comment and statistics for the various countries and finds that the Korean crisis and the election of the Democratic Party in Turkey exercised great influence on business activity.

Oil and Bahrain. J. H. D. B. (In the *World Today,* New York. February, 1951. pp. 76-83).

Indicates the results of oil exploitation on the moral and cultural development of the natives.

Palestinian Dress. Jan Macdonald. (In *The Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London. January-April, 1951. pp. 55-68).

Well-illustrated account of the diversity of design and the reasons for it.

Pearl Fisheries of the Persian Gulf. Richard LeBaron Bowen. (In *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D. C. Spring, 1951. pp. 161-180).

Describes the work done and the life lived by these exploited fisher folk, whose condition has greatly worsened since 1926 due to the depression and the introduction of Japanese cultured pearls.

Some Agricultural Problems of Pakistan. S. Wright. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1951. pp. 102-115).

Discusses the pros and cons regarding mechanization.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Anglo-Egyptian Relations: Affinity Distorted by Politics. (In *The Round Table,* London. March, 1951. pp. 113-119).

Real understanding, often thwarted by interested outside interference, will be attained as the standard of Egyptian administration is reached, as education becomes wider-spread, and as economic conditions improve.

Britain, Egypt and the Middle East. H. S. Deighton. (In *World Review,* London. January, 1951. pp. 15-19).

The Sudan question and the West's need for peace in the Levant make any satisfactory settlement almost impossible.

British Policy in the Middle East. Kenneth Williams. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. January, 1951. pp. 19-23).

Suggests that Gt. Britain should aim for a real federation of Arab states but points out the obstacles thereto.

The Colombo Plan for South and South-East Asia. A. C. B. Symon. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1951. pp. 83-101).

Gives outline and discussion of the six-year development programme which has its main emphasis on agriculture together with irrigation works and flood control.

En Marge de la Crise Marocaine. Victor Wittkowski. (In *Études,* Paris. Juin, 1951. pp. 305-330).

Discusses the plans of Lyautey for the administration and development of the country and shows how unrest and ill-considered interests may cause them to miscarry.

The Expulsion of the Turkish Minority from Bulgaria. M. P. (In the *World Today,* New York. January, 1951. pp. 30-36).

Gives useful insights into Soviet policy in Eastern Europe.

Kashmir—A Sovereign State. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1951. pp. 133-146).

Further details of the discussion period at a meeting of the Association and the Over-Seas League reported in the January issue of the *Asiatic Review.*

Palestine, Israel and Jordan. Abdul Majid Khan. (In *The India Quarterly,* New Delhi. October-December, 1950. pp. 341-351).

An account of political connections since World War I.

The Suez Canal in Anglo-Egyptian Relations. S. J. Weinberger. (In *Middle East Affairs,* New York. December, 1950. pp. 347-356).

An historical sketch indicating among other things the present vulnerability of the Canal which makes its future uncertain.

Tensions in the Middle East. Ellen D. Ellis. (In *Current History,* New York. May, 1951. pp. 262-265; June, 1951. pp. 330-334).

Points out internal and exterior pressures in this troubled area.

L'État Moderne en Afrique et en Asie. Robert Montagne. (In *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1949. pp. 3-25).

Inquiry into the actual nature of the new states.

Great Britain and the Arabs. William Banks. (In *The Islamic Review,* Woking. January 1950. pp. 41-43).

Social and economic reforms will bring about Arab unity.

Policy in the Middle East. H. S. Deighton. (In *The Fortnightly,* London. November, 1949. pp. 307-314).

A review of Britain's action since 1939.

Les Revendications Nationales Kurdes. P. Rondot. (In *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain,* Paris. October, 1949. pp. 65-71).

Surveys documents of Kurdish statesmen and other Kurds to allied authorities.

U.S. Engineers in Iran. (In *Fortune,* N.Y. February, 1950. pp. 70-73 ff.).

Describes the Seven Year Plan for Iran, arrived at through the collaboration of the Iranian Government and Overseas Consultants, Inc.

The White Nile Flood Plain and the Effect of Proposed Control Schemes. J. W. Wright. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. December, 1949. pp. 173-190).